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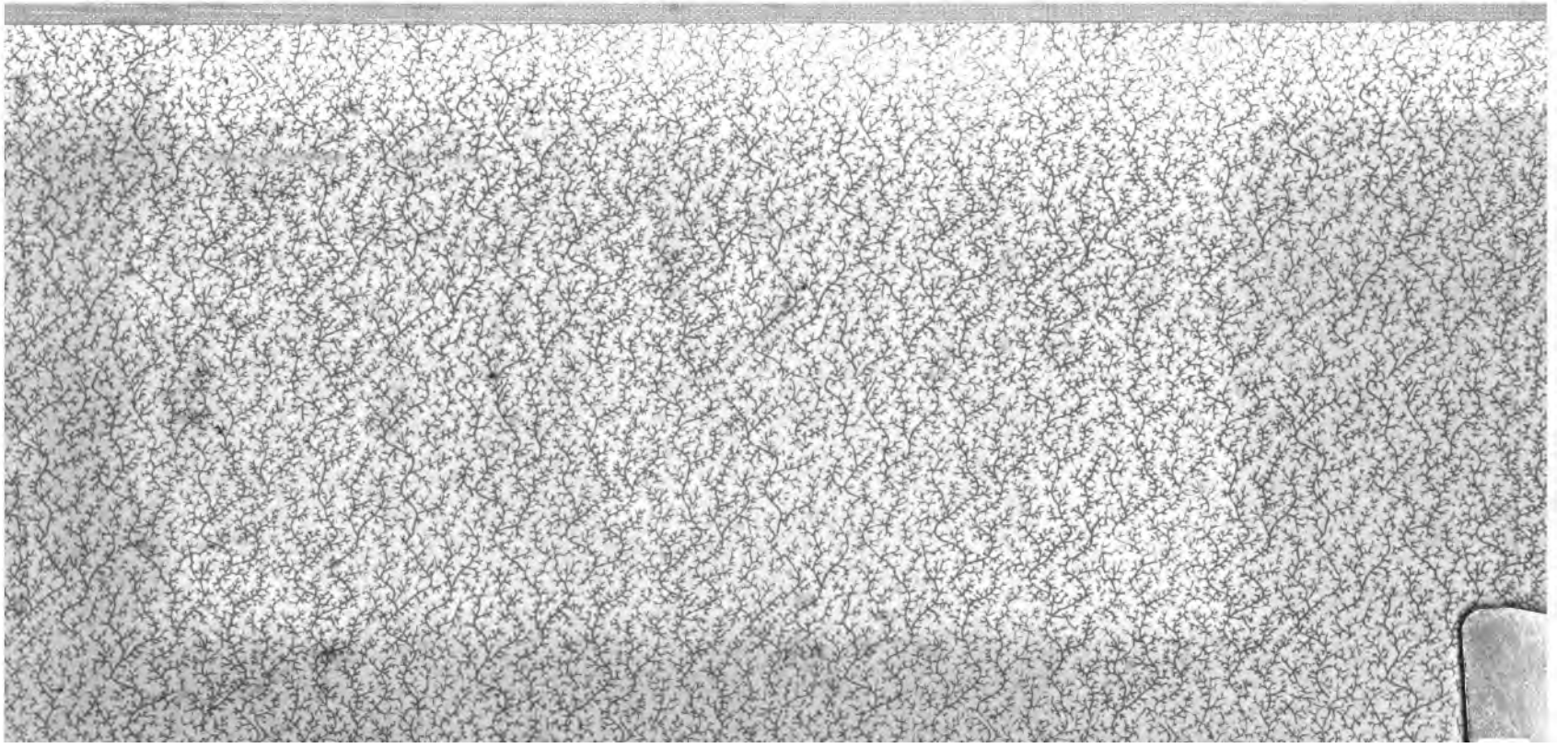
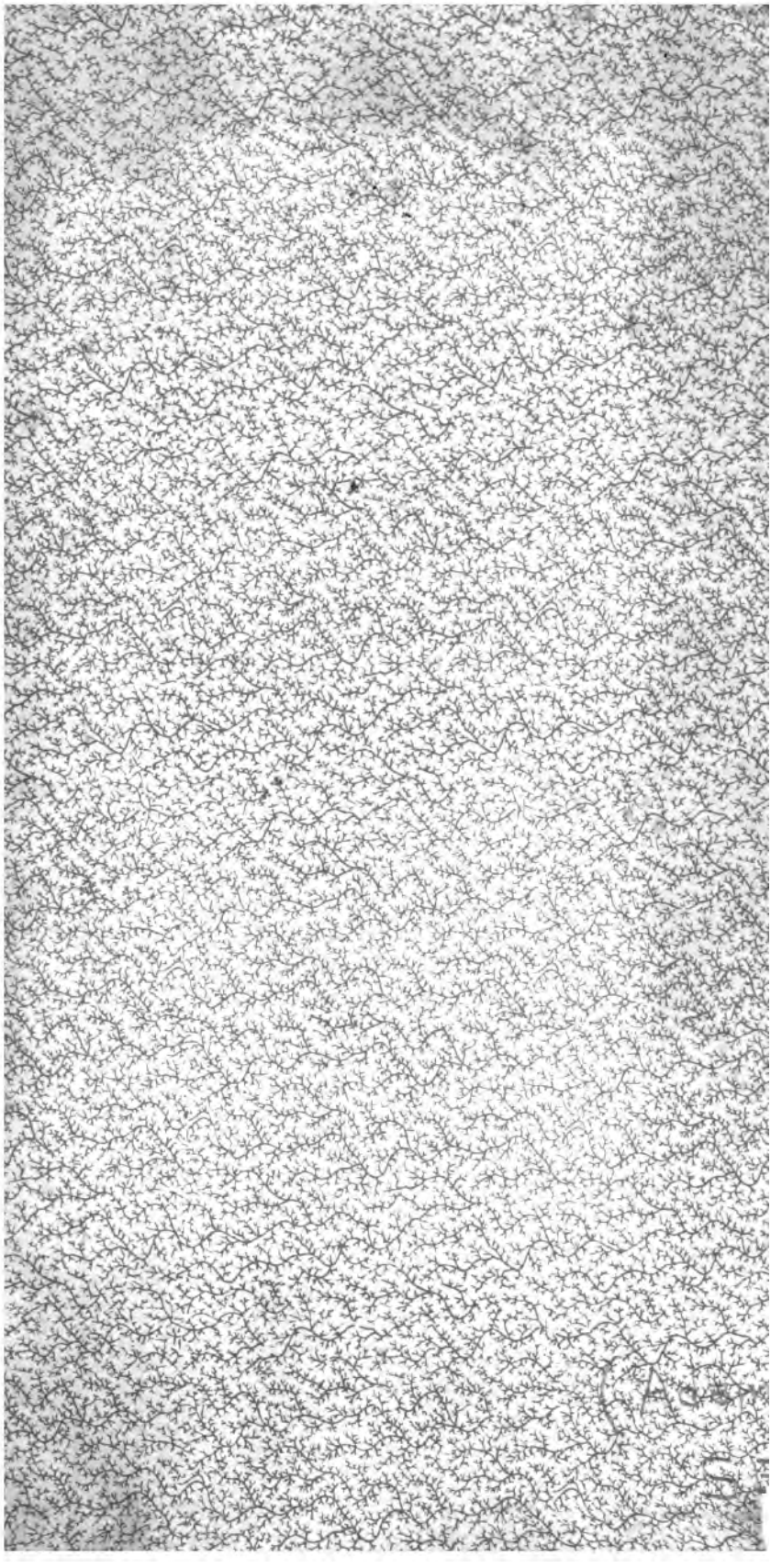




DISCOURSES

ON

D A V I L A.

A SERIES OF PAPERS,

ON

POLITICAL HISTORY.

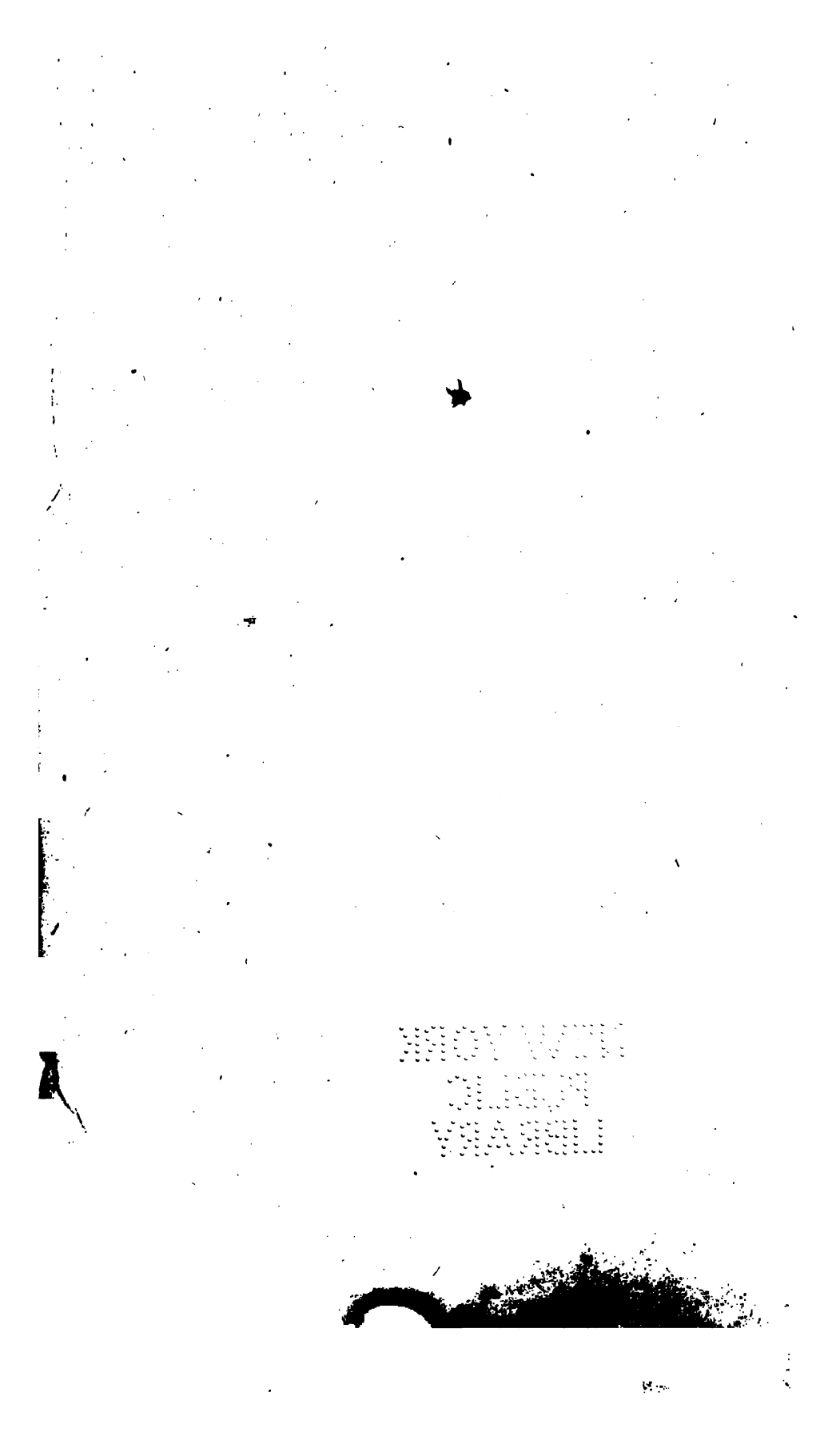
WRITTEN IN THE YEAR 1790, AND THEN PUBLISHED IN THE GAZETTE OF THE UNITED STATES.

BY AN AMERICAN CITIZEN.

NON PONEBAT RUMORES ANTE SALUTEM.

" Truths would you teach, to ſave a ſinking land,
" All read, none aid you, and few underſtand.
" 'Twas then the ſtudious head, or gen'rous mind,
" Foll'wer of God, or friend of human kind,
" Taught Pow'rs due uſe to people and to kings,
" Taught nor to ſlack nor ſtrain its tender ſtrings
" The leſs or greater, ſet ſo juſtly true,
" That touching one muſt ſtrike the other too;
" Till jaring intereſts, of themſelves, create
" Th' according muſic of a well mix'd State.
" Such is the world's great harmony that ſprings
" From order, union, full conſent of things;
" Where ſmall and great, where weak and mighty made
" To ſerve, not ſuffer—ſtrengthen, not invade;
" More powerful each, as needful to the reſt,
" And in proportion as it bleſſes, bleſt..... .....POPE.

BOSTON,
PRINTED BY RUSSELL AND CUTLER.
1805.



ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Numbers, which form this Vol were originally publiſhed in the Gazette of the United States, at New-York and Philadelphia, during the year 1790; and were then ſuppoſed to be the production of the celebrated author of the "*Defence of the American Conſtitutions.*" In ſupport of this opinion, we could, if it were neceſſary give many reaſons; but the reader, on a careful peruſal of them, will readily diſcover, that they are the offspring of the ſame mind, and may be diſtinctly conſidered as correlative parts, or an *additional volume* to the above work. With this view we have been governed, both in the ſize of the type and page, and in the quality of the paper, to the American edition of the *Defence.*

THE EDITORS.

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PREFACE.

SINCE the publication of theſe Diſcourſes in 1790, our obſervations abroad, and experience at home, have ſufficiently taught us the leſſons they were intended to inculcate; and the evils they were deſigned to prevent, have borne teſtimony of their truth.

It is unneceſſary to mention the rank or reputation of the ſuppoſed author, to give celebrity to the work. The Diſcourſes are allowed, by the beſt judges, to form a complete eſſay on aſſociated man, in which practical improvement is drawn from profound inveſtigation; his principles of action, as an individual, traced to their effects in his relative capacity; and from the light of hiſtory, and a thorough knowledge of his nature, his paſt diſaſters are made ſubſervient to his preſent and future happineſs.

The maxims inculcated in theſe Diſcourſes, are calculated to ſecure virtue, by laying a reſtraint upon vice; to give vigour and durability to the tree of liberty, by pruning its excreſcencies; and to guard it againſt the tempeſt of faction, by the protection of a firm and well-balanced government.

A work, combining ſo much excellence, on a ſubject of ſuch dignity and importance, cannot be too much appreciated....., Conceiving it to be both uſeful and honorable to their country, the Editors are deſirous of preſerving it from the inevitable wreck of a newſpaper publication; and believing the work will not fail of being approved by their fellow-citizens, they now tranſmit it to the public in a more durable form, without the aid of ſubſcription or private patronage.

Two Factions, drunk with Enthuſiaſm, and headed by men of the moſt deſperate Ambition, deſolated France.

Remarks on the Hiſtory of England.

Boſton, March, 1805.

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DISCOURSES ON DAVILA.

No. 1.

Fœlix, quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum.

THE French nation, known in antiquity under the appellation of the Franks, were originally from the heart of Germany. In the declenſion of the Roman Empire, they inhabited a country in the North, along the river Rhine, ſituated between Bavaria and Saxony, which ſtill preſerves the name of Franconia. Having exceſſively multiplied, as it happens in cold climates, their country was found not ſufficiently extenſive to contain them, nor fertile enough to nouriſh them. Excited by the example of their neighbours, they reſolved, by a common voice, to divide themſelves into two nations; one of which ſhould continue to inhabit their antient country; and the other endeavour to procure, elſewhere, by the force of arms, an eſtabliſhment more vaſt, more commodious, and more fertile. This enterpriſe was reſolved, and this diviſion made by unanimous conſent. Such as were deſtined by lot, to eſſay their fortune, although trained to war, and incapable of terror, at the apprehenſion of the dangers of ſuch an enterpriſe, thought, however, that they ought not to abandon it to anarchy or hazard, but to conduct it with prudence and order. To concert the

meaſures neceſſary for the execution of their project, they aſſembled in the plains, in the neighbourhood of the river *Sala*. Accuſtomed for many ages, to live in the obedience of a Prince, and thinking the monarchical ſtate the moſt convenient to a people who aſpire to augment their power, and extend their conqueſts, they reſolved to chooſe a King, who ſhould unite in his ſingle perſon, *all the authority of the nation*. Here perhaps DAVILA is incautious and incorrect; for the Franks, as well as Saxons, and other German nations, though their governments were monarchical, had their Grandees and People, who met and deliberated in National Aſſemblies, whoſe reſults were often, to ſay the leaſt, conſidered as laws. Their great misfortune was, that, while it never was ſufficiently aſcertained, whether the ſovereignty reſided in the King, or in the *National Aſſembly*, it was equally uncertain, whether the King had a negative on the aſſembly; whether the Grandees had a negative on the King, or the people; and whether the people had a negative on both, or either. This uncertainty will appear hereafter, in DAVILA himſelf, to mark its courſe in bloody characters; and the whole hiſtory of France will ſhew, that from the firſt migration of the Franks from Germany to this hour, it has never been ſufficiently explained and decided.

To this ſupreme degree of power in the King (as DAVILA proceeds) they added, that the *crown* ſhould be *hereditary* in the family elected; foreſeeing, that if it were *elective*, it would be a ſource of civil wars, which would prove deſtructive to all their enterpriſes. Mankind, in new eſtabliſhments, generally act with ſincerity, and with a ſingle view to the public good. They liſten

ten neither to the ambition nor the intereſt of private perſons: Pharamond was elected King, by unanimous conſent. He was a ſon of Marcomir, iſſue of the blood which had governed the nation for many ages; and, to an experienced valor, united a profound wiſdom, in the art of government. It was agreed that the ſame title, and equal power, ſhould deſcend to his legitimate poſterity of the male line, in default of which the nation ſhould return to their right of electing a new ſovereign. But as unlimited authority may eaſily degenerate into tyranny, the Franks, at the time of the election of their King, demanded the eſtabliſhment of certain perpetual and irrevocable laws, which ſhould regulate the order of ſucceſſion to the throne, and preſcribe in a few words, the form of government. Theſe laws, propoſed by their prieſts, whom they named *Saliens*, and inſtituted in the fields, which take their name from the river *Sala*, were originally called *Salique laws*, and have been conſidered, from the eſtabliſhment of the monarchy, as the primitive regulations and fundamental conſtitutions of the kingdom.

Leaving their country to the old Prince Marcomir, and paſſing the Rhine, under the command of Pharamond, the Franks marched to the conqueſt of the Gauls, about the four hundred and nineteenth year of the chriſtian Æra. The Roman legions, united with the Gauliſh troops, reſiſted Pharamond, till his death. The ſceptre was left to his ſon Clodion, an intrepid Prince, in the flower of his age, who in ſeveral battles defeated the nations of the country, diſſipated the Roman armies, and eſtabliſhed himſelf in Belgick Gaul. Merovius, who ſucceeded him, made a rapid progreſs; penetrated into Celtic Gaul, and

and extended his empire to the gates of Paris; judging that he had conquered country enough to contain his ſubjects, and form a ſtate of reaſonable extent, he limited the courſe of his exploits, and turned all his cares to peace, after having united under the ſame laws, and the ſame name, the conquerors and the vanquiſhed, whom he governed peaceably. He died leaving the Franks ſolidly eſtabliſhed in Gaul: Such is the origin of the French monarchy, and ſuch are her fundamental laws.

By the diſpoſitions of the ſame laws, the work of the nation, are regulated, the rights and prerogatives of the Princes of the Blood: As each of them, in default of direct heirs, may, according to his rank, be called to the crown, their intereſts are neceſſarily connected with thoſe of the ſtate. The people regard theſe privileges, as inviolable: Neither length of time, nor diſtance of degree has ever done them any injury. All theſe Princes preſerve the rank which nature has allotted them, to ſucceed to the throne. They have indeed, in the courſe of time, taken different names, ſuch as thoſe of *Valois*, of *Bourbons*, of *Orleans*, of *Angouleme*, of *Vendome*, of *Alencon*, of *Montpenſier*; but they have not by theſe means loſt the rights attached to the royal conſanguinity, that, eſpecially of ſucceeding to the crown. Theſe different branches, have from time to time aſſerted the pre-eminence, due to their blood; to intereſt them the more forcibly, in the preſervation of a crown, to which, in ſucceſſion, they may all be called, it has been commonly made a rule, in caſe of the minority, or abſence of the lawful King, to chooſe for the tutors or regents of the kingdom, the Princes who were neareſt related; it would not indeed be natural to entruſt the adminiſtration

miniſtration to the hands of ſtrangers, who might deſtroy, or at leaſt diſmember ſo beautiful a ſtate: Whereas Princes born of the ſame blood, ought, for that reaſon, to watch over the conſervation of an inheritance, which belongs to them, in ſome ſort. This right is not ſimply founded upon uſage: The *States General* of the Kingdom, in whom reſides the entire power of the whole nation whom they repreſent, have frequently confirmed it.—Here again we meet with another inaccuracy, if not a contradiction in DAVILA; or rather with another proof of that confuſion of law, and that uncertainty of the ſovereignty, which for 1500 years has been to France, the fatal ſource of ſo many calamities:* Here the ſovereignty, or whole power of the nation, is aſſerted to be in the *ſtates general;* whereas only three pages before, he had aſſerted that the whole authority of the nation was united in the King.

Theſe two prerogatives, of ſucceeding to the throne when a King dies without maſculine poſterity, and of governing the kingdom during the abſence or minority of the legitimate ſovereign, have at all times procured to the Princes of the blood, a great authority among the people, and the beſt part in the government. They have applied themſelves accordingly with remarkable vigilance, to the adminiſtration of an Empire, which they regarded with juſtice as their patrimony: And the people, judging that they might have them one day for their firſt Magiſtrates, have always ſhewn them the more reſpect, as they have more than once known the younger branches to aſcend the Throne, in default of the elder. Thus the Crown has paſſed from the Merovingians

* Miſera Servitus eſt, ubi jus eſt vagum aut incognitum. 1804.

gians to the Carlovingians, and finally to the Capetians; but always from male to male, in the Princes of the blood of theſe three races. From the laſt of theſe deſcended the King Louis the eleventh, whom the innocence of his life and the integrity of his manners, have placed in the number of the Saints. He left two ſons, Philip the third, ſurnamed the Hardy; and Robert, Earl of Clermont. Philip continued the elder branch, which reigned more than three hundred years, and took the ſurname of Valois. From Robert is deſcended the younger branch, or the houſe of Bourbon, ſo called, from the province, in which it poſſeſſed its ſettlement. This houſe, reſpectable not only by birth, which placed it near the throne, but alſo by the extent of its lands and riches, by the valour and number of its Princes, almoſt all diſtinguiſhed by their merit and a ſingular affability, arrived ſoon at an high degree of power. This elevation, joined to the favour of the people, excited againſt the Bourbons, the jealouſy and envy of the Kings, whom this great credit and diſtinguiſhed ſplendor, diſpleaſed, and alarmed. Every day brought freſh occaſions of hatred, ſuſpicion and diſtruſt, which ſeveral times broke out in arms. Thus in the war, *for the public good*, John, Duke of Bourbon, declared himſelf againſt Louis the eleventh; and Louis the twelfth, before his acceſſion to the throne, was at war with Peter of Bourbon. The jealouſies which theſe Princes inſpired into Kings, expoſed them ſometimes to ſecret vexations, and ſometimes to declared enmities. We may add to this reflection of DAVILA, that it is extremely probable, that theſe Princes, by frequently betraying ſymptoms of ambition, aſpiring at the throne, might give to Kings, juſt grounds of jealouſy and alarm.

Before

Before we proceed in our diſcourſes on DAVILA, it will aſſiſt us, in comprehending his narration, as well as in making many uſeful reflections in morals and policy, to turn our thoughts for a few moments to the conſtitution of the human mind. This we ſhall endeavour to do in our next eſſay.

No. 2.

La nature parle aux cœurs des Rois, tout comme a ceux des particuliers.

NATURE ſpeaks the ſame language to the hearts of Princes, as to thoſe of other men. Kings compare themſelves with Kings, or with ſuch of their own ſubjects, as are neareſt to them; and have the ſame ſentiments as private perſons, of pride, vanity, jealouſy, reſentment, and hatred, ariſing from ſuch compariſons.

FRANCIS Iſt. after his aſcenſion to the throne, whether he was miſled by an imprudence of youth, or whether he conſulted only his own beneficent diſpoſition, propoſed to himſelf, from the firſt day of his reign, to aggrandize the Princes of the blood, and load them with favours. To elevate in dignity thoſe who belonged to the Royal family, by proximity of blood, he believed to be for his own glory. Having diſcerned in *Charles*, the head of the branch of Bourbon, all the talents which form the great Captain, and the able Statesman, he gave him the office of Conſtable; and by confering on him, and the Princes of that houſe, the moſt diſtinguiſhed employments, he placed them at the head of the moſt important affairs of

of his kingdom.* This it muſt be confeſſed was impolitic; ſince it is always dangerous for the firſt in office or command. to be over fond or familiar with the ſecond—to confer too many opportunities of eclipſing his own glory, or of drawing away the attention of the public; or to offer too many temptations to ambition, rivalry, or envy. Accordingly the firſt fire of this zeal abated; and experience having excited his jealouſy, or policy revealed to him the reaſons of the conduct. which his predeceſſors had holden; he manifeſted in the ſequel as much eagerneſs to lower the Bourbons, as he had at firſt diſcovered of affection to exalt them.

Fortune ſoon preſented an opportunity favorable to his deſign. Louiſa of Savoy, his mother, had commenced a law ſuit againſt Charles, for the Dutchy of Bourbon, in his poſſeſſion. *Judges, in thoſe days, were not independent.*—The King thought that by influencing the deciſion, in favor of his mother, and by thus deſpoiling the houſe of Bourbon of the richeſt portion of their patrimony, he might accelerate the declenſion of a credit, founded in part on their immenſe riches.—Charles, in the courſe of the proceedings, diſcovered the manœuvres, which were practiſed to his prejudice, by the Chancellor Duprat, by order of the King. The indignation, which he conceived at this injury, and the apprehenſion of the reverſe of fortune which threatened him, ſtruck him ſo forcibly, that, having negociated ſecretly with the Emperor, Charles the fifth, and Henry the eighth, King of England, he conſpired againſt

* See the late correſpondence between the Prince of Wales and his father, brother, &c. – Alſo, reccollect the conduct of the Duke of Malborough and Queen Ann and her Miniſters. – By ſuch combination of circumſtances, what havoc is made with conſtitutions and adminiſtrations.—1804.

againſt the State, and even againſt the perſon of the King. His deſigns were diſcovered; and, neceſſiated to fly the kingdom with precipitation, he afterwards bore arms againſt his ſovereign.—He commanded the Imperial army at the battle of Pavia, in which, after the bloody defeat of the French army, the King ſurrounded on all ſides by the infantry of the enemy, remained a priſoner. The Conſtable, as a puniſhment of all theſe crimes, was declared a rebel: All his eſtates were confiſcated and united to the dominions of the crown. He was killed ſoon after, at the taking of Rome: and there remained to the Bourbons nothing of that grandeur, which had inſpired ſo much umbrage to Kings. Their misfortunes did not ceaſe here.—Although Charles was deceaſed without iſſue, and the other Princes of his Houſe had not favored his revolt, reſentment in the breaſt of the King overcame his reaſon, and the Bourbons were deprived of the favours of the court, and baniſhed from the government. Their perſonal merit could not ſoften the hatred attached to their name. This rigour, it is true, diminiſhed with time, and in proportion as the memory of the paſt, and the diſadvantageous ideas which the King had conceived of them, were effaced from his mind. Nevertheleſs, he cautiouſly applied himſelf, to obſtruct all the paſſages, by which they might have returned to the poſſeſſion of thoſe dignities, and that power, to which royal favor had formerly raiſed them. Theſe ſecret diſpoſitions of the King were perfectly known to Charles of Vendome, now at the head of that Houſe, who by his moderation, ſtudied to diſſipate the ſuſpicions, which were entertained againſt his family: in this view he refuſed, during the impriſon-

ment of the King, to pretend to the regency, which belonged to him, of right.—After the King was ſet at liberty, Charles ſhut himſelf up with his domeſtics, leading a private life, without meddling in the government of a State, in which he ſaw he was ſuſpected. All the other Bourbons, after his example, retired, as much to prove that they were innocent of the revolt of the Conſtable, as to mark their ſubmiſſion to the will of the King, even when it was moſt diſadvantageous to them. They avoided every thing which could revive the diſtruſt againſt them; and, too openly in diſgrace, to think of elevating themſelves to thoſe dignities which they thought alone ſuitable to their birth, and too haughty to deſcend to the ſmaller places, they renounced all the honors and offices of the court. The ſame cauſes produce the ſame effects. The late revolution in France, opened a proſpect to the Royal family, not very different from that in 1515. Though the merits and injuries of Orleans, may not be compared to thoſe of a Conſtable de Bourbon; yet the paſſions of a Prince of the blood of the ſecond order may hereafter be painted by another DAVILA. Opportunity will generally excite ambition to aſpire; and if even an improbable caſe ſhould happen of an exception to this rule, danger will always be ſuſpected and apprehended, in ſuch circumſtances, from ſuch cauſes. We may ſoon ſee, that a form of government, in which every paſſion has an adequate counterpoiſe, can alone ſecure the public from the dangers and miſchiefs of ſuch rivalries, jealouſies, envies and hatreds.

No. 3.

Auguſt verité !
C'eſt a toi, de montrer aux yeux des nations
Les coupables effets de leurs diviſions.

WHEN one family is depreſſed, either in a Monarchy, or in any ſpecies of republic, another muſt ariſe. While, in the reign of FRANCIS Iſt, they thus humbled the branch of the Bourbons; there aroſe two other powerful families, who ſoon obtained the adminiſtration of affairs: The houſe of *Montmorency*, and that of *Guiſe*; both, indeed inferior to the Blood Royal; but both illuſtrious by the ſplendor of the moſt ancient nobility. That of Montmorency produces Titles, which prove its deſcent, by an uninterrupted ſucceſſion, from one of the principal Grandees who accompanied Pharamond in his firſt expedition. It has the glory of having been the firſt French houſe which received baptiſm and the Chriſtian Faith. The memory of this diſtinction is preſerved in the motto of their arms, *God help the firſt Chriſtian Baron*; a ſplendid teſtimony both of the antiquity and religion of their anceſtors. Anne of Montmorency, who united a vaſt genius, directed by prudence, to a grave and impoſing deportment—who combined a ſingular addreſs to a patience never to be exhauſted in the intrigues and affairs of the Court, which change ſo often their aſpect, ſprung from this ſtock.—His high qualities merited the confidence of Francis Iſt. After having paſſed through all the military gradations of the State, he was at firſt elevated to the dignity of Grand Maſter of the King's houſehold, and after the death of the Duke

of

of Bourbon, to that of *Conſtable*—in one word he concentered in his perſon, the command of armies, and the principal adminiſtration of all the affairs, civil and political, of the kingdom.

The houſe of *Lorrain*, of which that of *Guiſe* is a branch, derives its original, from the higheſt antiquity. It reckons among its paternal anceſtors, Godfrey of Bouillon, the famous leader of the Cruſades, who by his valor and piety conquered the kingdom of Jeruſalem; and by the female line it traces its deſcent from a daughter of Charlemain. Anthony, of Lorrain, chief of this rich and powerful family, reigned over his people, with an abſolute authority: Claud, his younger brother, went into France to take poſſeſſion of the Dutchy of Guiſe, and there recommended himſelf by his valor.—After the battle of Marignan, where he commanded the German troops, he was taken out from an heap of dead bodies, covered over with blood and wounds; his cure was thought to be a miracle, and he held afterwards the firſt rank among the greateſt captains of France. The houſes of Guiſe and Montmorency, had rendered ſervices of ſuch importance to the State that it was difficult to determine, which of the two merited the pre-eminence. In the ſplendor of their birth, and the extent of their domains, the Guiſes had the advantage.—In the favor of the King, the family of the Conſtable was moſt advanced, and ſaw itſelf at the head of affairs. Nature, which has eſtabliſhed in the univerſe a chain of being and univerſal order, deſcending from Arch Angels to microſcopic animalcules, has ordained that no two objects ſhall be perfectly alike, and no two creatures perfectly equal. Although among men, all are ſubject

ject by nature to *equal laws* of morality, and in ſociety have a right to *equal laws* for their government, yet no two men are perfectly equal in perſon, property, underſtanding, activity and virtue—or ever can be made ſo by any power leſs than that which created them ; and whenever it becomes diſputable between two individuals,or families, which is the ſuperior, a fermentation commences,which diſturbs the order of all things, until it is ſettled, and each one knows his place in the opinion of the public. The queſtion of ſuperiority between the Guiſes and Montmorencies had the uſual effects of ſuch doubts. But as nothing is leſs ſtable than the fortune of courtiers, in ill-ordered governments, they both experienced reverſes, towards the end of the reign of Francis the Iſt. That jealouſy, which never has an end, becauſe it is always well founded, which reigns in every government, where every paſſion and every intereſt has not its correſpondent counterpoiſe, actuated the King. The two miniſters not being ſubject to any regular plan of reſponſibility, were become dangerous rivals of their maſter : their enemies knew how to inſinuate ſuſpicions. The Conſtable fell into diſgrace for having perſuaded the King to truſt the promiſes of Charles the Vth. and to grant him a free paſſage through France, as he went to chaſtiſe the rebellion of Ghent. The Emperor not keeping his engagements, the King and the court accuſed the Conſtable of having failed, either in prudence or fidelity. He was obliged to leave the court and return to private life, to conceal himſelf from the purſuits of his enemies. The Duke of Guiſe was alſo conſtrained to quit the court and give way to the ſtorm, for having incurred

curred the diſpleaſure of the King, by cauſing to be raiſed upon the frontiers, without his conſent, certain troops, which he ſent to the Duke of Lorrain, his brother, at that time at war with the Anabaptiſts.

The Conſtable, and the Duke of Guiſe, thus diſgraced, were replaced by two miniſters of conſummate experience, indefatigable induſtry, and acknowledged abilities; the Admiral D'Annebaut and the Cardinal de Tournon. The mediocrity of their fortune and extraction, excited little apprehenſion, that they would ever arrive, at that high power, of which the King had reaſon to be jealous, and which he dreaded in the hands of his ſubjects. This Prince, who underſtood mankind, and was become unquiet and ſuſpicious ſince his diſgraces, had long reſolved to diſmiſs from his perſon, the Conſtable and the Duke, notwithſtanding the long confidence with which he had honored them; believing that he ſhould not be able to govern, according to his own mind, while he ſhould have about him two perſons, whoſe credit and reputation were capable of balancing his will. He dreaded in the Conſtable that profound experience, and that lively penetration, from which he could not conceal his moſt hidden ſecrets. Every thing was to him ſuſpicious in the Guiſes. Their illuſtrious birth, their reſtleſs humor, their active genius, that ardent character to embrace every occaſion to aggrandize themſelves, and that ambition capable of forming projects the moſt vaſt and daring. As the judicial courts had no independence, and there was no regular judicature for impeachments, there could be no rational reſponſibility. The King could inflict none but arbitrary puniſhments; there was no tribunal, but the States General

General and their committees, and among theſe the miniſters had as many friends as the King.—The miniſters therefore thought themſelves, and as the conſtitution then ſtood, they really were, ſo nearly equal to the King in power, that they might do as they pleaſed with impunity. They preſumed too far, and the King was juſtly offended: but had no remedy, but in the aſſaſſination or diſmiſſion of his miniſters—he choſe the latter; though in the ſequel we ſhall ſee many inſtances, in ſimilar caſes, of the former: In the laſt years of his life, this monarch, if we may call by that name a Prince who was in effect, nothing more than the firſt individual in a miſerable oligarchy, ſecretly recommended to Prince Henry his ſon, to diſtruſt the exceſſive power of his ſubjects, and eſpecially of the houſe of Guiſe, whoſe elevation would infallibly diſturb the repoſe of the kingdom. Francis now ſaw and felt, that the houſe of Guiſe was become, as the houſe of Bourbon had been before, a dangerous rival of the houſe of Valois.

Ambition, diſappointed and diſgraced by a King, commonly becomes obſequious to the heir apparent, or oſtenſible ſucceſſor. In 1547, Henry the ſecond, the ſucceſſor of Francis the firſt, diſregarding the advice and example of his father, diſmiſſed from his court and ſervice, the Admiral and Cardinal, though poſſeſſed of his ſecrets of the ſtate; and placed again at the head of affairs, the Conſtable Anne of Montmorency, and Francis of Lorrain, ſon of Claud Duke of Guiſe, who ſoon engaged the confidence of the young King, and regulated every thing at his court. Their authority was equal: But, as has been once obſerved, nature has decreed, *that a perfect*

a perfect equality ſhall never long exiſt between any two mortals. The views, the conduct and the characters of the two miniſters, were unlike in all things. The Conſtable advanced in years, was naturally fond of peace: Formed by a long experience in the art of government, he enjoyed an high reputation for wiſdom, and held the firſt place in the conduct of affairs of ſtate. The Duke, in the flower of his age, captivated by an elevated genius and ſprightly wit, united with a robuſt conſtitution and a noble figure, the affections of the King. Henry treated him, almoſt as his equal; admitted him to his converſations, his pleaſures, and thoſe exerciſes of the body which were ſuitable to his age and inclination. His affection for the Conſtable, was rather veneration: His attachment to the Duke was familiarity. The conduct of the two favourites was very different; the one an enemy of all ſhow, urged with a certain ſeverity, from which age is ſeldom exempted, the neceſſity of economy. He even oppoſed the profuſion of the Prince. His auſtere virtue inſpired a contempt for foreigners, and rendered him little ſolicitous for the affection of the French. The Duke of Guiſe, affable and popular, gained by his liberalities and politeneſs, the hearts of the people and the ſoldiers. With a generous warmth, he protected the unfortunate, and conciliated the eſteem of ſtrangers.

Inclinations and conduct ſo oppoſite, ſoon produced jealouſies, between the two miniſters, equally beloved of the King. To inſinuate themſelves further into the royal graces, and make themſelves maſters of his favors, they exerted all their ſkill, addreſs and efforts. Their emulation

and

and ambition were ſtimulated by their neareſt relations, and private friends. The Conſtable was irritated by his Nephew Gaſpard de *Coligni*, Lord of Chatillon, who had ſucceeded to the Admiral D'Annebaut, and who was not leſs diſtinguiſhed for his policy, than eminent for valor. The Duke of Guiſe was animated, by the Cardinal Charles of Lorrain, his brother, who united the ſplendor of the Roman purple, to a noble figure, profound erudition and uncommon eloquence.

Hence forward the dæmon of rivalry, haunted the two houſes of Guiſe and Montmorency: and fortune did not fail to open a vaſt career, to the animated emulation of the two competitors.

No. 4.

C'eſt là le propre de l'eſprit humain, que les exemples ne corrigent perſonne; les ſottiſes des peres ſont perdues pour leurs enfans; il faut que chaque generation faſſe les ſiennes.

LET us now attempt a performance of the promiſe at the cloſe of our firſt number: Men, in their primitive conditions, however ſavage, were undoubtedly gregarious—and they continue to be ſocial, not only in every ſtage of civilization, but in every poſſible ſituation in which they can be placed. As nature intended them for ſociety, ſhe has furniſhed them with paſſions, appetites, and propenſities, as well as a variety of faculties, calculated both for their individual enjoyment, and to render them uſeful to each other in their ſocial connections. There is none among them

more eſſential or remarkable, than the *paſſion for diſtinction*. A deſire to be obſerved, conſidered, eſteemed, praiſed, beloved, and admired by his fellows, is one of the earlieſt, as well as keeneſt diſpoſitions diſcovered in the heart of man. If any one ſhould doubt the exiſtence of this propenſity, let him go and attentively obſerve the journeymen, and apprentices in the firſt workſhop, or the oarſmen in a cockboat—a family or a neighbourhood—the inhabitants of a houſe, or the crew of a ſhip—a ſchool or a college—a city, or a village—a ſavage, or civilized people—an hoſpital, or a church—the bar, or the exchange —a camp, or a court. Wherever men, women or children, are to be found, whether they be old or young—rich or poor—high or low—wiſe or fooliſh—ignorant or learned—every individual is ſeen to be ſtrongly actuated by a deſire to be ſeen, heard, talked of, approved and reſpected by the people about him, and within his knowledge.

Moral writers have, by immemorial uſage, a right to make a free uſe of the poets.

'The love of praiſe, howe'er conceal'd by art,
Reigns more or leſs, and glows in every heart;
'The proud to gain it, toils on toils endure,
The modeſt ſhun it, but to make it ſure.
O'er globes and ſceptres, now on thrones it ſwells,
Now, trims the midnight lamp in college cells.
'Tis tory, whig—it plots, prays, preaches, pleads,
Harrangues in Senates, ſqueaks in maſquerades;
It aids the dancer's heel, the writer's head,
And heaps the plain with mountains of the dead;
Nor ends with life; but nods in ſable plumes
Adorns our herſe, and flatters on our tombs.

A regard to the ſentiments of mankind concerning him, and to their diſpoſitions towards him, every man feels within himſelf; and if he has reflected, and tried experiments, he has found

found, that no exertion of his reaſon—no effort of his will, can wholly diveſt him of it. In proportion to our affection for, the notice of others is our averſion to their neglect; the ſtronger the deſire of the eſteem of the public, the more powerful the averſion to their diſapprobation—the more exalted the wiſh for admiration, the more invincible the abhorrence of contempt. Every man not only deſires the conſideration of others, but he frequently compares himſelf with others, his friends or his enemies, and in proportion as he exults when he perceives that he has more of it, than they, he feels a keener affliction when he ſees that one or more of them, are more reſpected than himſelf.

This paſſion, while it is ſimply a deſire to excel another, by fair induſtry in the ſearch of truth, and the practice of virtue, is properly called *Emulation.* When it aims at power, as a means of diſtinction, it is *Ambition.* When it is in a ſituation to ſuggeſt the ſentiments of fear and apprehenſion, that another, who is now inferior, will become ſuperior, it is denominated *Jealouſy.*—When it is in a ſtate of mortification, at the ſuperiority of another, and deſires to bring him down to our level, or to depreſs him below us, it is properly called *Envy.* When it deceives a man into a belief of falſe profeſſions of eſteem or admiration, or into a falſe opinion of his importance in the judgment of the world, it is *Vanity.* Theſe obſervations alone would be ſufficient to ſhew, that this propenſity, in all its branches, is a principal ſource of the virtues and vices, the happineſs and miſery of human life; and that the hiſtory of mankind is little more than a ſimple narration of its operation and effects.

There

There is in human nature, it is true, ſimple *Benevolence*—or an affection for the good of others—but alone it is not a ballance for the ſelfiſh affections. Nature then has kindly added to benevolence, the deſire of reputation, in order to make us good members of ſociety. *Spectemur agendo* expreſſes the great principle of activity for the good of others. Nature has ſanctioned the law of ſelf-preſervation by rewards and puniſhments. The rewards of ſelfiſh activity are life and health—the puniſhments of negligence and indolence are want, diſeaſe and death. Each individual, it is true, ſhould conſider, that nature has enjoined the ſame law on his neighbour, and therefore a reſpect for the authority of nature would oblige him to reſpect the rights of others as much as his own. But reaſoning as abſtruſe, though as ſimple as this, would not occur to all men. The ſame nature therefore has impoſed another law, that of promoting the good, as well as reſpecting the rights of mankind, and has ſanctioned it by other rewards and puniſhments. The rewards in this caſe, in this life, are *eſteem* and *admiration* of others—the puniſhments are *neglect* and *contempt*—nor may any one imagine that theſe are not as real as the others. The deſire of the eſteem of others is as real a want of nature as hunger—and the neglect and contempt of the world as ſevere a pain, as the gout or ſtone. It ſooner and oftener produces deſpair, and a deteſtation of exiſtence—of equal importance to individuals, to families, and to nations.—It is a principal end of government to regulate this paſſion, which in its turn becomes a principal means of government. It is the only adequate inſtrument of order and ſubordination in ſociety, and alone commands

commands effectual obedience to laws, ſince without it neither human reaſon, nor ſtanding armies, would ever produce that great effect. Every perſonal quality, and every bleſſing of fortune, is cheriſhed in proportion to its capacity of gratifying this univerſal affection for the eſteem, the ſympathy, admiration and congratulations of the public. Beauty in the face, elegance of figure, grace of attitude and motion, riches, honors, every thing is weighed in the ſcale, and deſired, not ſo much for the pleaſure they afford, as the attention they command. As this is a point of great importance, it may be pardonable to expatiate a little, upon theſe particulars.

Why are the perſonal accompliſhments of beauty, elegance and grace, held in ſuch high eſtimation by mankind? Is it merely for the pleaſure which is received from the ſight of theſe attributes? By no means; The taſte for ſuch delicacies is not univerſal—in thoſe who feel the moſt lively ſenſe of them, it is but a ſlight ſenſation, and of ſhorteſt continuance; but thoſe attractions command the notice and attention of the public —they draw the eyes of ſpectators: This is the charm that makes them irreſiſtible. Is it for ſuch fading perfections that an huſband or a wife is choſen? Alas, it is well known, that a very ſhort familiarity, totally deſtroys all ſenſe and attention to ſuch properties; and on the contrary, a very little time and habit deſtroys all the averſion to uglineſs and deformity, when unattended with diſeaſe or ill-temper: Yet beauty and addreſs are courted and admired, very often, more than diſcretion, wit, ſenſe, and many other accompliſhments and virtues, of infinitely more importance to the happineſs of private life, as well

well as to the utility and ornament of ſociety. Is it for the momentous purpoſe of dancing and drawing, painting and muſic, riding or fencing, that men and women are deſtined in this life or any other? Yet thoſe who have the beſt means of education, beſtow more attention and expenſe on thoſe, than on more ſolid acquiſitions. Why? Becauſe they attract more forcibly the attention of the world, and procure a better advancement in life. Notwithſtanding all this, as ſoon as an eſtabliſhment in life is made, they are found to have anſwered their end, and are laid aſide neglected.

Is there any thing in birth, however illuſtrious or ſplendid, which ſhould make a difference between one man and another? If, from a common anceſtor, the whole human race is deſcended, they are all of the ſame family. How then can they diſtinguiſh families into the more or the leſs ancient? What advantage is there in an illuſtration of an hundred or a thouſand years? Of what avail are all theſe hiſtories, pedigrees, traditions? What foundation has the whole ſcience of genealogy and heraldry? Are there differences in the breeds of men, as there are in thoſe of horſes? If there are not, theſe ſciences have no foundation in reaſon—in prejudice they have a very ſolid one: All that philoſophy can ſay is, that there is a general preſumption, that a man has had ſome advantages of education, if he is of a family of note. But this advantage muſt be derived from his father and mother chiefly, if not wholly; of what importance is it then, in this view, whether the family is twenty generations upon record, or only two?

The

The mighty ſecret lies in this: An illuſtrious deſcent attracts the notice of mankind. A ſingle drop of royal blood, however illegitimately ſcattered, will make any man or woman proud or vain. Why? Becauſe, although it excites the indignation of many, and the envy of more, it ſtill attracts the *attention* of the world. Noble blood, whether the nobility be hereditary or elective, and indeed more in republican governments than in monarchies, leaſt of all in deſpotiſms, is held in eſtimation for the ſame reaſon. It is a name and a race that a nation has been intereſted in, and is in the habit of reſpecting.—Benevolence, ſympathy, congratulation, have been ſo long aſſociated to thoſe names in the minds of the people, that they are become national habits. National gratitude deſcends from the father to the ſon, and is often ſtronger to the latter than the former: It is often excited by remorſe, upon reflection on the ingratitude and injuſtice with which the former has been treated. When the names of a certain family are read in all the gazettes, chronicles, records, and hiſtories of a country for five hundred years, they become known, reſpected, and delighted in by every body. A youth, a child of this extraction, and bearing this name, attracts the eyes and ears of all companies long before it is known or enquired, whether he be a wiſe man, or a fool. His name is often a greater diſtinction, than a title, a ſtar, or a garter. This it is which makes ſo many men proud, and ſo many others envious of illuſtrious deſcent. The pride is as irrational and contemptible as the pride of riches, and no more. A wiſe man will lament that any other diſtinction than that of merit ſhould be made. A good man

man, will neither be proud nor vain of his birth; but will earneſtly improve every advantage he has for the public good. A cunning man will carefully conceal his pride; but will indulge it in ſecret, the more effectually, and improve his advantage to greater profit. But was any man ever known ſo wiſe, or ſo good, as really to deſpiſe birth or wealth? Did you ever read of a man riſing to public notice, from obſcure beginings, who was not reflected on? Although with every liberal mind, it is an honor, and a proof of merit, yet it is a diſgrace with mankind in general.—What a load of ſordid obloquy and envy has every ſuch man to carry? The contempt that is thrown upon obſcurity of anceſtry augments the eagerneſs for the ſtupid adoration that is paid to its illuſtration.

This deſire of the conſideration of our fellow-men, and their congratulations in our joys, is not leſs invincible, than the deſire of their ſympathy in our ſorrows. It is a determination of our nature that lies at the foundation of our whole moral ſyſtem in this world, and may be connected eſſentially with our deſtination in a future ſtate. Why do men purſue riches? What is the end of avarice?—Theſe queſtions may be anſwered in our next.

No. 5.

O fureur de ſe diſtinguer, que ne pouvez vous point!

THE labour and anxiety, the enterprizes, and adventures, that are voluntarily undertaken in purſuit of gain, are out of all proportion to the utility

utility, convenience or pleaſure of riches. A competence to ſatisfy the wants of nature, food and cloaths, a ſhelter from the ſeaſons, and the comforts of a family, may be had for very little. The daily toil of the million, and of millions of millions, is adequate to a complete ſupply of theſe neceſſities and conveniences. With ſuch accommodations thus obtained, the appetite is keener, the digeſtion more eaſy and perfect, and repoſe is more refreſhing, than among the moſt abundant ſuperfluities and the rareſt luxuries. For what reaſon then, are any mortals averſe to the ſituation of the farmer, mechanic or labourer ?— Why do we tempt the ſeas, and encompaſs the globe ? Why do any men affront heaven and earth, to accumulate wealth, which will forever be uſeleſs to them ? Why do we make an oſtentatious diſplay of riches ? Why ſhould any man be proud of his purſe, houſes, lands, or gardens ? or in better words, why ſhould the rich man glory in his riches ? What connection can there be between wealth and pride ?

The anſwer to all theſe queſtions is, *becauſe riches attract the attention, conſideration and congratulations of mankind ;* it is not becauſe the rich have really more of eaſe or pleaſure than the poor. Riches force the opinion on a man that he is the object of the congratulations of others ; and he feels that they attract the complaiſance of the public. His ſenſes all inform him that his neighbors have a natural diſpoſition to harmonize with all thoſe pleaſing emotions, and agreeable ſenſations, which the elegant accommodations around him are ſuppoſed to excite.

His imagination expands, and his heart dilates at theſe charming illuſions : and his attachment to his

his poſſeſſions increaſes, as faſt as his deſire to accumulate more: not for the purpoſes of beneficence or utility, but from the deſire of illuſtration.

Why, on the other hand, ſhould any man be aſhamed to make known his poverty? Why ſhould thoſe who have been rich, or educated in the houſes of the rich, entertain ſuch an averſion, or be agitated with ſuch terror, at the proſpect of loſing their property? Or of being reduced to live at an humbler table? In a meaner houſe? To walk inſtead of riding? Or to ride without their accuſtomed equipage or retinue? Why do we hear of madneſs, melancholy, and ſuicides, upon bankruptcy, loſs of ſhips, or any other ſudden fall from opulence to indigence, or mediocrity? Aſk your reaſon, what diſgrace there can be in poverty? What moral ſentiment of approbation, praiſe or honor can there be in a palace? What diſhonor in a cottage? What glory in a coach, what ſhame in a waggon? Is not the ſenſe of propriety, and ſenſe of merit, as much connected with an empty purſe, as a full one? May not a man be as eſtimable, amiable and reſpectable, attended by his faithful dog, as if preceded and followed by a train of horſes and ſervants? All theſe queſtions may be very wiſe; and the ſtoical philoſophy has her anſwers ready. But if you aſk the ſame queſtions of nature, experience, and mankind, the anſwers will be directly oppoſite to thoſe of *Epictetus*, viz. that there is more reſpectability in the eyes of the greater part of mankind, in the gaudy trappings of wealth, than there is in genius or learning, wiſdom or virtue.

The poor man's conſcience is clear; yet he is aſhamed. His character is irreproachable, yet he

he is neglected and despised. He feels himself out of the sight of others, groping in the dark. Mankind take no notice of him : he rambles and wanders unheeded. In the midst of a croud, at church, in the market, at a play, at an execution or coronation, he is in as much obscurity, as he would be in a garret or a cellar. He is not disapproved, censured or reproached : *he is only not seen.* This total inattention is to him, mortifying, painful and cruel. He suffers a misery from this consideration, which is sharpened by the consciousness that others have no fellow feeling with him in this distress. If you follow these persons,however,into their scenes of life, you will find that there is a kind of figure which the meanest of them all, endeavors to make; a kind of little grandeur and respect, which the most insignificant study and labour to procure, in the small circle of their acquaintances. Not only the poorest mechanic, but the man who lives upon common charity, nay the common beggars in the streets ; and not only those who may be all innocent, but even those who have abandoned themselves to common infamy as pirates, highwaymen and common thieves, court a set of admirers, and plume themselves on that superiority, which they have, or fancy they have, over some others. There must be one indeed who is the last and lowest of the human species. But there is no risk in asserting that there is no one, who believes and will acknowledge himself to be the man. To be wholly overlooked and to know it, are intolerable. Instances of this are not uncommon. When a wretch could no longer attract the notice of a man, woman or child, he must be respectable in the eyes of his dog.— "Who will love me then ?" was the pathetic reply

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What is it that bewitches mankind to marks and ſigns? A Ribbon? A Garter? A Star? A golden Key? A Marſhall's Staff? Or a white hickory Stick? Though there is in ſuch frivolities, as theſe, neither profit nor pleaſure, nor any thing amiable, eſtimable or reſpectable; yet experience teaches us, in every country of the world, they attract the attention of mankind more than parts or learning, virtue or religion. They are therefore ſought with ardor, very often, by men poſſeſſed in the moſt eminent degree, of all the more ſolid advantages of birth and fortuue, merit and ſervices, with the beſt faculties of the head, and the moſt engaging recommendations of the heart.

Fame has been divided into three ſpecies: Glory, which attends the great actions of lawgivers and heroes, and the management of the great commands and firſt offices of State: Reputation, which is cheriſhed by every gentleman: and Credit, which is ſupported by merchants and tradeſmen. But even this diviſion is incomplete, becauſe the deſire and the object of it, though it may be conſidered in various lights, and under different modifications, is not confined to gentlemen nor merchants, but is common to every human being.—There are no men, who are not ambitious of diſtinguiſhing themſelves, and growing conſidera-

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It is curious to conſider the final cauſes of things, when the phyſical are wholly unknown. The intellectual and moral qualities, are moſt within our power, and undoubtedly the moſt eſſential to our happineſs. The perſonal qualities of health, ſtrength, and agility, are next in importance. Yet, the qualities of fortune, ſuch as birth, riches, and honors, though a man has leſs reaſon to eſteem himſelf for theſe, than for thoſe of his mind or body, are, every where acknowledged, to glitter with the brighteſt luſtre, in the eyes of the world.

As virtue is the only rational ſource, and eternal foundation of honor, the wiſdom of nations, in the titles they have eſtabliſhed as the marks of order and ſubordination, has generally given an intimation, not of perſonal qualities, nor of the qualities of fortune; but of ſome particular virtues, more eſpecially becoming men, in the high ſtations they poſſeſs. Reverence is attributed to the Clergy—veneration to Magiſtrates—honor to Senators—ſerenity, clemency, or mildneſs of diſpoſition to Princes. The ſovereign authority and ſupreme executive, have commonly titles that

that deſignate power as well as virtue—as Majeſty to Kings—magnificent, moſt honored, and ſovereign Lords, to the government of Geneva—noble mightineſſes to the States of Frieſland—noble and mighty Lords to the States of Guelderland—noble great and venerable Lords to the regency of Leyden—noble and grand mightineſſes to the States of Holland—noble great and venerable Lords, the regency of Amſterdam—noble mightineſſes, the States of Utrecht—and high mightineſſes the States General.

A death bed, it is ſaid, ſhews the emptineſs of titles. That may be. But does it not equally ſhew the futility of richeſs, power, liberty, and all earthly things? The cloud-capt towers, the gorgeous palaces, the ſolemn temples, the great globe itſelf, appear the baſeleſs fabric of a viſion, and life itſelf a tale, told by an ideot, full of ſound and fury, ſignifying nothing. Shall it be inferred from this, that fame, liberty, property and life, ſhall be always deſpiſed and neglected? Shall laws and government, which regulate ſublunary things be neglected, becauſe they appear baubles at the hour of death?

The wiſdom and virtue of all nations have endeavored to regulate the paſſion for reſpect and diſtinction, and to reduce it to ſome order in ſociety, by titles marking the gradations of magiſtracy, to prevent, as far as human power and policy can prevent, colliſions among the paſſions of many purſuing the ſame objects, and the rivalries, animoſities, envy, jealouſy and vengeance, which always reſult from them.

Has there ever been a nation, who underſtood the human heart, better than the Romans? Or made a better uſe of the paſſion for conſideration,

utility, convenience or pleaſure of riches. A competence to ſatisfy the wants of nature, food and cloaths, a ſhelter from the ſeaſons, and the comforts of a family, may be had for very little. The daily toil of the million, and of millions of millions, is adequate to a complete ſupply of theſe neceſſities and conveniences. With ſuch accommodations thus obtained, the appetite is keener, the digeſtion more eaſy and perfect, and repoſe is more refreſhing, than among the moſt abundant ſuperfluities and the rareſt luxuries. For what reaſon then, are any mortals averſe to the ſituation of the farmer, mechanic or labourer?— Why do we tempt the ſeas, and encompaſs the globe? Why do any men affront heaven and earth, to accumulate wealth, which will forever be uſeleſs to them? Why do we make an oſtentatious diſplay of riches? Why ſhould any man be proud of his purſe, houſes, lands, or gardens? or in better words, why ſhould the rich man glory in his riches? What connection can there be between wealth and pride?

The anſwer to all theſe queſtions is, *becauſe riches attract the attention, conſideration and congratulations of mankind;* it is not becauſe the rich have really more of eaſe or pleaſure than the poor. Riches force the opinion on aman that he is the object of the congratulations of others; and he feels that they attract the complaiſance of the public. His ſenſes all inform him that his neighbors have a natural diſpoſition to harmonize with all thoſe pleaſing emotions, and agreeable ſenſations, which the elegant accommodations around him are ſuppoſed to excite.

His imagination expands, and his heart dilates at theſe charming illuſions: and his attachment to

his poſſeſſions increaſes, as faſt as his deſire to accumulate more: not for the purpoſes of beneficence or utility, but from the deſire of illuſtration.

Why, on the other hand, ſhould any man be aſhamed to make known his poverty? Why ſhould thoſe who have been rich, or educated in the houſes of the rich, entertain ſuch an averſion, or be agitated with ſuch terror, at the proſpect of loſing their property? Or of being reduced to live at an humbler table? In a meaner houſe? To walk inſtead of riding? Or to ride without their accuſtomed equipage or retinue? Why do we hear of madneſs, melancholy, and ſuicides, upon bankruptcy, loſs of ſhips, or any other ſudden fall from opulence to indigence, or mediocrity? Aſk your reaſon, what diſgrace there can be in poverty? What moral ſentiment of approbation, praiſe or honor can there be in a palace? What diſhonor in a cottage? What glory in a coach, what ſhame in a waggon? Is not the ſenſe of propriety, and ſenſe of merit, as much connected with an empty purſe, as a full one? May not a man be as eſtimable, amiable and reſpectable, attended by his faithful dog, as if preceded and followed by a train of horſes and ſervants? All theſe queſtions may be very wiſe; and the ſtoical philoſophy has her anſwers ready. But if you aſk the ſame queſtions of nature, experience, and mankind, the anſwers will be directly oppoſite to thoſe of *Epictetus*, viz. that there is more reſpectability in the eyes of the greater part of mankind, in the gaudy trappings of wealth, than there is in genius or learning, wiſdom or virtue.

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The wisdom and virtue of all nations have endeavored to regulate the passion for respect and distinction, and to reduce it to some order in society, by titles marking the gradations of magistracy, to prevent, as far as human power and policy can prevent, collisions among the passions of many pursuing the same objects, and the rivalries, animosities, envy, jealousy and vengeance, which always result from them.

Has there ever been a nation, who understood the human heart, better than the Romans? Or made a better use of the passion for consideration;

ery day's experience ſhows, are moſt ſure to obtain it ; by riches, by family records, by play, and other frivolous perſonal accompliſhments.— But there are a few, and God knows but a few, who aim at ſomething more : They aim at approbation as well as attention ; at eſteem as well as conſideration ; and at admiration and gratitude, as well as congratulation. Admiration is indeed the complete idea of approbation, congratulation, and wonder united. This laſt deſcription of perſons is the tribe out of which proceeds your patriots and heroes, and moſt of the great benefactors to mankind. But for our humiliation, we muſt ſtill remember, that even in theſe eſteemed, beloved and adored characters, the paſſion, although refined by the pureſt moral ſentiments, and intended to be governed by the beſt principles, is a paſſion ſtill ; and therefore, like all other human deſires, unlimited and inſatiable. No man was ever contented with any given ſhare of this human adoration. When Cæſar declared that he had lived enough to glory ; Cæſar might deceive himſelf, but he did not deceive the world, who ſaw his declaration contradicted by every action of his ſubſequent life. Man conſtantly craves for more, even when he has no rival : But when he ſees another poſſeſſed of more, or drawing away from himſelf a part of what he had, he feels a mortification, ariſing from the loſs of a good he thought his own :— His deſire is diſappointed : The pain of a want unſatisfied, is increaſed by a reſentment of an injuſtice, as he thinks it : He accuſes his rival of a theft or robbery, and the public of taking away, what was his property, and giving it to another. Theſe feelings and reſentments, are but other

names for jealouſy and envy; and altogether, they produce ſome of the keeneſt and moſt tormenting of all ſentiments. Theſe fermentations of the paſſions are ſo common and ſo well known, that the people generally preſume, that a perſon in ſuch circumſtances, is deprived of his judgment, if not of his veracity and reaſon. It is too generally a ſufficient anſwer to any complaint, to any fact alledged, or argument advanced, to ſay that it comes from a diſappointed man.

There is a voice within us, which ſeems to intimate, that real merit ſhould govern the world; and that men ought to be reſpected only in proportion to their talents, virtues and ſervices. But the queſtion always has been, how can this arrangement be accompliſhed? How ſhall the men of merit be diſcovered? How ſhall the proportions of merit be aſcertained and graduated? Who ſhall be the judge? When the government of a great nation is in queſtion, ſhall the whole nation chooſe? Will ſuch a choice be better than chance? Shall the whole nation vote for Senators? Thirty millions of votes, for example, for each Senator in France! It is obvious that this would be a lottery of millions of blanks to one prize, and that the chance of having wiſdom and integrity in a Senator by hereditary deſcent would be far better. There is no individual perſonally known to an hundredth part of the nation. The voters then muſt be expoſed to deception, from intrigues and manœuvres, without number, that is to ſay, from all the chicanery, impoſtures and falſhoods imaginable, with ſcarce a poſſibility of prefering real merit. Will you divide the nation into diſtricts, and let each diſtrict chooſe a Senator? This is giving up the

the idea of national merit, and annexing the honor and the truſt to an accident, that of living on a particular ſpot. An hundred or a thouſand men of the firſt merit in a nation, may live in one city, and none at all of this deſcription in ſeveral whole provinces. Real merit is ſo remote from the knowledge of whole nations, that were magiſtrates to be choſen by that criterion alone, and by an univerſal ſuffrage, diſſentions and venality would be endleſs. The difficulties ariſing from this ſource, are ſo obvious and univerſal, that nations have tried all ſorts of experiments to avoid them.

As no appetite in human nature is more univerſal than that for honor, and real merit is confined to a very few, the numbers who thirſt for reſpect, are out of all proportion to thoſe who ſeek it only by merit. The great majority trouble themſelves little about merit, but apply themſelves to ſeek for honor, by which means they ſee will more eaſily and certainly obtain it, by diſplaying their taſte and addreſs, their wealth and magnificence, their ancient parchments, pictures, and ſtatues, and the virtues of their anceſtors; and if theſe fail, as they ſeldom have done, they have recourſe to artifice, diſſimulation, hypocriſy, flattery, impoſture, empiriciſm, quackery and bribery. What chance has humble, modeſt, obſcure and poor merit, in ſuch a ſcramble? Nations, perceiving that the ſtill ſmall voice of merit, was drowned in the inſolent roar of ſuch dupes of impudence and knavery, in national elections, without a poſſibility of a remedy, have ſought for ſomething more permanent than the popular voice to deſignate honor. Many nations have attempted to annex it to land, preſuming that a good

good eſtate would at leaſt furniſh means of a good education; and have reſolved that thoſe who ſhould poſſeſs certain territories, ſhould have certain legiſlative, executive and judicial powers, over the people. Other nations have endeavoured to connect honor with offices; and the names and ideas at leaſt of certain moral virtues and intellectual qualities have been by law annexed to certain offices, as veneration, grace, excellence, honor, ſerenity, majeſty. Other nations have attempted to annex honor to families, without regard to lands or offices. The Romans allowed none, but thoſe who had poſſeſſed curule offices, to have ſtatues or portraits. He, who had images or pictures of his anceſtors, was called noble. He who had no ſtatue or pictures but his own, was called a new man. Thoſe who had none at all, were ignoble. Other nations have united all thoſe inſtitutions; connected lands, offices and families—made them all deſcend together, and honor, public attention, conſideration and congratulation, along with them. This has been the policy of Europe; and it is to this inſtitution which ſhe owes her ſuperiority in war and peace, in legiſlation and commerce, in agriculture, navigation, arts, ſciences and manufactures, to Aſia and Africa. Theſe families, thus diſtinguiſhed by property, honors and privileges, by defending themſelves, have been obliged to defend the people againſt the encroachments of deſpotiſm. They have been a civil and political militia, conſtantly watching the deſigns of the ſtanding armies, and courts; and by defending their own rights, liberties, properties, and privileges, they have been obliged, in ſome degree, to defend thoſe of the people, by making a common cauſe with

with them. But there were ſeveral eſſential defects in this policy: one was that the people took no rational meaſures to defend themſelves, either againſt theſe great families, or the courts. They had no adequate repreſentation of themſelves in the ſovereignty. Another was that it never was determined where the ſovereignty reſided—generally it was claimed by Kings; but not admitted by the nobles. Sometimes every Baron pretended to be ſovereign in his own territory; at other times the ſovereignty was claimed by an aſſembly of nobles, under the name of States or Cortes. Sometimes the United authority of the King and States was called the ſovereignty. The common people had no adequate and independent ſhare in the legiſlatures, and found themſelves harraſſed to diſcover who was the ſovereign, and whom they ought to obey, as much as they ever had been or could be to determine who had the moſt merit. A thouſand years of Barons' wars, cauſing univerſal darkneſs, ignorance and barbarity, ended at laſt in ſimple monarchy, not by expreſs ſtipulation, but by tacit acquieſcence, in almoſt all Europe; the people prefering a certain ſovereignty in a ſingle perſon, to endleſs diſputes, about merit and ſovereignty, which never did and never will produce any thing but ariſtocratical anarchy; and the nobles contenting themſelves with a ſecurity of their property and privileges, by a government of fixed laws, regiſtered and interpreted by a judicial power, which they called ſovereign tribunals, though the legiſlation and execution were in a ſingle perſon. In this ſyſtem to controul the nobles, the church joined the Kings and common people.

The progreſs of reaſon, letters and ſcience, has weakened

akened the church and ſtrengthened the com-
on people; who, if they are honeſtly and pru-
ntly conducted by thoſe who have their confi-
nce, will moſt infallibly obtain a ſhare in eve-
le ſiſtacore. But if the common people are
vifed to aim at collecting the whole ſovereign-
in ſingle national aſſemblies, as they are by the
ike de la *Rochefoucault* and the Marquis of *Con-
rcet*; or at the abolition of the Regal executive
thority; or at a diviſion of the executive pow-
, as they are by a poſthumous publication of
e Abby de *Mably*,* they will fail of their deſired
erty, as certainly as emulation and rivalry are
unded in human nature, and inſeparable from
vil affairs. It is not to flatter the paſſions of
e people, to be ſure, nor is it the way to obtain
reſent enthuſiaſtic popularity, to tell them that
a ſingle aſſembly, they will act as arbitrarily
d tyranically as any deſpot, but it is a ſacred
uth, and as demonſtrable as any propoſition

No. 9.

'Tis from high life, high characters are drawn,
A Saint in *crape*, is twice a Saint in *lawn*.

PROVIDENCE, which has placed one thing over againſt another, in the moral as well as phyſical world, has ſurpriſingly accommodated the qualities of men, to anſwer one another. There is a remarkable diſpoſition in mankind to congratulate with others in their joys and proſperity, more than to ſympathiſe with them in their ſorrows and adverſity. We may appeal to experience. There is leſs diſpoſition to congratulation with genius, talents, or virtue, than there is with beauty, ſtrength and elegance of perſon; and leſs with theſe than with the gifts of fortune and birth, wealth and fame. The homage of the world is devoted to theſe laſt, in a remarkable manner. Experience concurs with religion in pronouncing, moſt deciſively, that this world is not the region of virtue or happineſs; both are here at ſchool, and their ſtruggles with ambition, avarice, and the deſire of fame, appear to be their diſcipline and exerciſe. The gifts of fortune are more level to the capacities, and more obvious to the notice of mankind in general; and congratulation with the happineſs, or fancied happineſs of others, is agreeable: ſympathy with their miſery is diſagreeable: from the former ſources we derive pleaſure, from the latter pain. The ſorrow of the company at a funeral, may be more profitable to moral purpoſes, by ſuggeſting uſeful reflections, than the mirth at a wedding; but it is not ſo vivid, nor ſo ſincere. The acclamations of

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the populace, at an ovation or triumph, at a coronation, or inſtallation, are from the heart, and their joy is unfeigned. Their grief at a public execution is leſs violent at leaſt: if their feelings at ſuch ſpectacles were very diſtreſſing, they would be leſs eager to attend them. What is the motive of that ardent curioſity to ſee fights and ſhews of exultation—the proceſſions of Princes—the oſtentation of wealth—the magnificence of equipage, retinue, furniture, buildings, and entertainment? There is no other anſwer to be given to theſe queſtions, than the gaiety of heart, the joyous feelings of congratulation with ſuch appearances of felicity. And for the vindication of the ways of God to man, and the perpetual conſolation of the many, who are ſpectators, it is certainly true, that their pleaſure is always as great, and commonly much greater, than that of the few who are the actors.

National paſſions and habits are unweildy, unmanageable and formidable things. The number of perſons in any country, who are known even by name or reputation, to all the inhabitants, is, and ever muſt be, very ſmall. Thoſe, whoſe characters have attracted the affections, as well as the attention of an whole people, acquire an influence and aſcendancy that it is difficult to reſiſt. In proportion as men riſe higher in the world, whether by election, deſcent or appointment, and are expoſed to the obſervation of greater numbers of people, the effects of their own paſſions, and of the affections of others for them become more ſerious, intereſting and dangerous. In elective governments, where firſt magiſtrates and ſenators are at ſtated intervals to be choſen, theſe, if there are no parties, become

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at every freſh election, more known, conſidered and beloved, by the whole nation. But if the nation is divided into two parties, thoſe who vote for a man, become the more attached to him for the oppoſition, that is made by his enemies. This national attachment to an elective firſt magiſtrate, where there is no competition, is very great: but where there is a competition, the paſſions of his party, are inflamed by it, into a more ardent enthuſiaſm. If there are two candidates, each at the head of a party, the nation becomes divided into two nations, each of which is, in fact, a moral perſon, as much as any community can be ſo, and are ſoon, bitterly enraged againſt each other.

It has been already ſaid, that in proportion as men riſe higher in the world, and are expoſed to the obſervation of greater numbers, the effects of theſe paſſions are more ſerious and alarming. Impreſſions on the feelings of the individual, are deeper; and larger portions of mankind become intereſted in them. When you riſe to the firſt ranks, and conſider the firſt men; a nobility who are known and reſpected at leaſt, perhaps habitually eſteemed and beloved by a nation; Princes and Kings, on whom the eyes of all men are fixed, and whoſe every motion is regarded, the conſequences of wounding their feelings are dreadful, becauſe the feelings of an whole nation, and ſometimes of many nations, are wounded at the ſame time. If the ſmalleſt variation is made in their ſituation, relatively to each other; if one who was inferior is raiſed to be ſuperior, unleſs it be by fixed laws, whoſe evident policy and neceſſity may take away diſgrace, nothing but war, carnage and vengeance has ever been the uſual con-

ſequence of it. In the examples of the houſes *Valois* and *Bourbon*, *Guiſe* and *Montmorency*, *Guiſe* and *Bourbon*, and *Guiſe* and *Valois*, we have already ſeen very grave effects of theſe feelings, and the hiſtory of an hundred years, which followed, is nothing but a detail of other, and more tragical effects of ſimilar cauſes.

To any one who has never conſidered the force of *national attention, conſideration, and congratulation*, and the cauſes, natural and artificial, by which they have been excited, it will be curious to read, in *Plato*'s Alcibiades, the manner in which theſe national attachments to their kings, were created by the ancient Perſians. The policy of the modern monarchies of Europe ſeems to be an exact imitation of that of the Perſian Court, as it is explained by the Grecian philoſopher. In France, for example, the pregnancy of the Queen is announced with great ſolemnity to the whole nation. Her Majeſty is ſcarcely afflicted with a pain which is not formally communicated to the public. To this embryo the minds of the whole nation are turned; and they follow him, day by day, in their thoughts, till he is boru. The whole people have a right to be preſent at his birth; and as many as the Chamber will hold, crowd in, till the Queen and Prince are almoſt ſuffocated with the loyal curioſity and affectionate ſolicitude of their ſubjects. In the cradle, the principal perſonages of the kingdom, as well as all the Ambaſſadors, are from time to time preſented to the royal infant. To thouſands who preſs to ſee him, he is daily ſhewn from the nurſery. Of every ſtep in his education; and of every gradation of his youthful growth, in body and mind, the public is informed in the Gazettes. Not a ſtroke

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of wit, not a ſprightly ſally, not a trait of generous affection, can eſcape him, but the world is told of it, and very often pretty fictions are contrived, for the ſame purpoſe, where the truth will not furniſh materials. Thus it becomes the national faſhion, it is the *tone* of the city and the court, to think and converſe daily about the dauphin. When he accedes to the throne, the ſame attention is continued, till he dies.

In elective governments, ſomething very like this, always takes place, towards the firſt character: his perſon, countenance, character and actions, are made the daily contemplation and converſation of the whole people. Hence ariſes the danger of a diviſion of this attention—where there are rivals for the firſt place, the national attention and paſſions are divided, and thwart each other—the colliſion enkindles fires—the conflicting paſſions intereſt all ranks—they produce ſlanders and libels firſt, mobs and ſeditions next, and civil war, with all her hiſſing ſnakes, burning torches, and haggard horrors at laſt.

This is the true reaſon, why all civilized free nations have found, by experience, the neeeſſity of ſeperating, from the body of the people, and even from the legiſlature, the diſtribution of honors, and confering it on the executive authority of government. When the emulation of all the citizens looks up to one point, like the rays of a circle from all parts of the circumference, meeting and uniting in the centre, you may hope for uniformity, conſiſtency and ſubordination: but when they look up to different individuals, or aſſemblies, or councils, you may expect all the deformities, eccentricities, and confuſion, of the Polemick ſyſtem.

No.

No. 10.

" Wiſe if a Miniſter, but if a King,
" More wiſe, more learn'd, more juſt, more every thing.

THERE is ſcarcely any truth more certain, or more evident, than that the nobleſſe of Europe, are, in general leſs happy than the common people. There is one irrefragible proof of it, which is, that they do not maintain their own population. Families, like ſtars, or candles, which you will, are going out continually; and without freſh recruits from the plebeians, the nobility would in time be extinct. If you make allowances for the ſtate, which they are condemned by themſelves, and the world, to ſupport, they are poorer than the poor—deeply in debt—and tributary to uſurious capitaliſts, as greedy as the Jews.—The kings of Europe, in the ſight of a philoſopher, are the greateſt ſlaves on earth, how often ſoever we may call them deſpots, tyrants, and other rude names, in which our pride and vanity takes a wonderful delight: they have the leaſt exerciſe of their inclinations, the leaſt perſonal liberty, and the leaſt free indulgence of their paſſions, of any men alive. Yet how rare are the inſtances of reſignations, and how univerſal is the ambition to be noble, and the wiſh to be royal.

Experience and philoſophy are loſt upon mankind. The attention of the world has a charm in it, which few minds can withſtand. The people conſider the condition of the great in all thoſe deluſive colours, in which imagination can paint and gild it, and reaſon can make little reſiſtance, to this impetuous propenſity. To better their condition

condition, to advance their fortunes, without limits, is the object of their conſtant deſire, the employment of all their thoughts by day and by night. They feel a peculiar ſympathy with that pleaſure, which they preſume thoſe enjoy, who are already powerful, celebrated and rich. "We favour (ſays a great writer) all their inclinations, and forward all their wiſhes. What pity, we think; that any thing ſhould ſpoil and corrupt ſo agreeable a ſituation: we could even wiſh them immortal; and it ſeems hard to us, that death ſhould at laſt put an end to ſuch perfect enjoyment. It is cruel, we think, in nature, to compel them from their exalted ſtations, to that humble, but hoſpitable home, which ſhe has provided for all her children. Great King, live forever! is the compliment, which, after the manner of Eaſtern adulation, we ſhould readily make them, if experience did not teach us its abſurdity.—Every calamity that befalls them, every injury that is done them, excites in the breaſt of the ſpectator, ten times more compaſſion and reſentment, than he would have felt, had the ſame things happened to other men. It is the misfortune of Kings only, which afford the proper ſubjects for tragedy; they reſemble, in this reſpect, the misfortune of lovers. Theſe two ſituations are the chief which intereſt us on the ſtage; becauſe, in ſpight of all that reaſon and experience can tell us to the contrary, the prejudices of the imagination, attach to theſe two ſtates. a happineſs ſuperior to any other. To diſturb or put an end to ſuch perfect enjoyment, ſeems to be the moſt atrocious of all injuries. The traitor, who conſpires againſt the life of his monarch, is tho't a greater monſter, than any other murderer. All

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the innocent blood that was ſhed in the civil wars, provoked leſs indignation than the death of Charles Iſt. A ſtranger to human nature, who ſaw the indifference of men about the miſery of their inferiors, and the regret and indignation which they feel for the misfortunes and ſufferings of thoſe above them, would be apt to imagine, that pain muſt be more agonizing, and the convulſions of death more terrible to perſons of higher rank, than to thoſe of meaner ſtations.

"Upon this diſpoſition of mankind, to go along with all the paſſions of the rich and powerful, is founded the diſtinction of ranks, and the order of ſociety. Our obſequiouſneſs to our ſuperiors more frequently ariſes from our admiration for the advantages of their ſituation, than from any private expectations of benefit from their good will. Their benefits can extend but to a few; but their fortunes intereſt almoſt every body. We are eager to aſſiſt them in compleating a ſyſtem of happineſs that approaches ſo near to perfection; and we deſire to ſerve them for their own ſake, without any other recompence but the vanity or the honor of obliging them. Neither is our deference to their inclinations founded chiefly, or altogether, upon a regard to the utility of ſuch ſubmiſſion, and to the order of ſociety, which is beſt ſupported by it. Even when the order of ſociety ſeems to require that we ſhould oppoſe them, we can hardly bring ourſelves to do it. That kings are the ſervants of the people, to be obeyed, reſiſted, depoſed, or puniſhed, as the public conveniency may require, is the doctrine of reaſon and philoſophy; but it is not the doctrine of nature. Nature would teach us to ſubmit to them, for

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their own ſakes, to tremble and bow down before their exalted ſtation, to regard their ſmile as a reward ſufficient to compenſate any ſervices, and to dread their diſpleaſure, though no other evil was to follow from it, as the ſevereſt of all mortifications. To treat them in any reſpect as men, to reaſon and diſpute with them upon ordinary occaſions, requires ſuch reſolution, that there are few men whoſe magnanimity can ſupport them in it, unleſs they are likewiſe aſſiſted by familiarity and acquaintance. The ſtrongeſt motives, the moſt furious paſſions, fear, hatred and reſentment, are ſcarce ſufficient to balance this natural diſpoſition to reſpect them: and their conduct muſt either juſtly or unjuſtly, have excited the higheſt degree of all thoſe paſſions, before the bulk of the people can be brought to oppoſe them with violence, or to deſire to ſee them either puniſhed or depoſed. Even when the people have been brought to this length, they are apt to relent every moment, and eaſily relapſe into their habitual ſtate of deference. They cannot ſtand the mortification of their monarch; compaſſion ſoon takes the place of reſentment, they forget all paſt provocations, their old principles of loyalty revive, and they run to re-eſtabliſh the ruined authority of their old maſters, with the ſame violence with which they had oppoſed it. The death of Charles the firſt, brought about the reſtoration of the royal family. Compaſſion for James the ſecond, when he was ſeized by the populace, in making his eſcape on ſhip board, had almoſt prevented the revolution, and made it go on more heavily than before.

"Do the great ſeem inſenſible of the eaſy price

price, as which they may acquire the public admiration; or do they ſeem to imagine, that to them, as to other men, it muſt be the purchaſe either of ſweat or of blood? By what important accompliſhments is the young nobleman inſtructed to ſupport the dignity of his rank, and to render himſelf worthy of that ſuperiority over his fellow citizens, to which the virtue of his anceſtors had raiſed them? Is it by knowledge, by induſtry, by patience, by ſelf-denial, or by virtue of any kind? As all his words, as all his motions are attended to, he learns an habitual regard to every circumſtance of ordinary behaviour, and ſtudies to perform all thoſe ſmall duties, with the moſt exact propriety. As he is conſcious how much he is obſerved, and how much mankind are diſpoſed to favour all his inclinations, he acts, upon the moſt indifferent occaſions, with that freedom and elegance, which the tho't of this naturally inſpires. His air, his manner, his deportment, all mark that elegant and graceful ſenſe of his own ſuperiority, which thoſe who are born to inferior ſtations, can hardly expect to arrive at. Theſe are the arts, by which he propoſes to make mankind ſubmit to his authority, and to govern their inclinations according to his own pleaſure; and in this he is ſeldom diſappointed. Theſe arts, ſupported by rank and preeminence, are, upon ordinary occaſions, ſufficient to govern the world.

"But it is not by accompliſhments of this kind, that the man of inferior rank muſt hope to diſtinguiſh himſelf. Politeneſs is ſo much the virtue of the great, that it will do little honor to any body but themſelves. The coxcomb, who imitates their manner, and affects to be eminent by the

the ſuperior propriety of his ordinary behaviour, is rewarded with a double ſhare of contempt for his folly and preſumption. Why ſhould the man whom nobody thinks it worth while to look at, be very anxious about the manner in which he holds up his head, or diſpoſes of his arms, while he walks through a room? He is occupied ſurely with a very ſuperfluous attention, and with an attention too that marks a ſenſe of his own importance, which no other mortal can go along with. The moſt perfect modeſty and plainneſs, joined to as much negligence, as is conſiſtent with the reſpect due to the company, ought to be the chief characteriſtics of the behaviour of a private man. If ever he hopes to diſtinguiſh himſelf, it muſt be by more important virtues: he muſt acquire dependants, to balance the dependants of the great; and he has no other fund to pay them from but the labour of his body, and the activity of his mind. He muſt cultivate theſe, therefore, he muſt acquire ſuperior knowledge in his profeſſion, and ſuperior induſtry in the exerciſe of it; he muſt be patient in labour, reſolute in danger, and firm in diſtreſs. Theſe talents he muſt bring into view, by the difficulty, importance, and at the ſame time, good judgmeut of his undertakings, and by the ſevere and unrelenting application with which he purſues them. Probity and prudence, generoſity and frankneſs, muſt characteriſe his behaviour upon all ordinary occaſions; and he muſt at the ſame time, be forward to engage in all thoſe ſituations, in which it requires the greateſt talents and virtues to act with propriety; but in which the greateſt applauſe is to be acquired by thoſe who can acquit themſelves with honor. With what impatience does

the man of ſpirit and ambition, who is depreſſed by his ſituation, look round for ſome great opportunity to diſtinguiſh himſelf? No circumſtances, which can afford this, appear to him undeſirable; he even looks forward with ſatisfaction to the proſpect of foreign war, or civil diſſention; and with ſecret tranſport and delight, ſees, thro' all the confuſion and bloodſhed which attend them, the probability of all thoſe wiſhed-for occaſions, preſenting themſelves, in which he may draw upon himſelf the attention and admiration of mankind. The man of rank and diſtinction, on the contrary, whoſe whole glory conſiſts in the propriety of his ordinary behaviour; who is contented with the humble renown which this can afford him, and has no talents to acquire any other; is unwilling to embarraſs himſelf with what can be attended either with difficulty or diſtreſs: To figure at a ball is his great triumph —he has an averſion to all public confuſions, not from want of courage, for in that he is ſeldom defective, but from a conſciouſneſs that he poſſeſſes none of the virtues which are required in ſuch ſituations, and that the public attention will certainly be drawn away from him by others: he may be willing to expoſe himſelf to ſome little danger, and to make a campaign, when it happens to be the faſhion; but he ſhudders with horror at the thought of any ſituation which demands the continual and long exertion of patience, induſtry, fortitude, and long application of thought. Theſe virtues are hardly ever to be met with in men who are born to thoſe high ſtations. In all governments, accordingly, even in monarchies, the higheſt offices are generally poſſeſſed, and the whole detail of the adminiſtration

conducted

conducted by men, who were educated in the middle and inferior ranks of life, who have been carried forward by their own induſtry and abilities, though loaded with the jealouſy, and oppoſed by the reſentment of all thoſe who were born their ſuperiors, and to whom the great, after having regarded them, firſt with contempt, and afterwards with envy, are at laſt contented to truckle with the ſame abject meanneſs, with which they deſire that the reſt of mankind ſhould behave to themſelves.

"It is the loſs of this eaſy empire over the affections of mankind, which renders the fall from greatneſs ſo inſupportable. When the family of the King of Macedon was led in triumph by Paulus Æmilius, their misfortunes, made them divide with their conqueror, the attention of the Roman people. The ſight of the royal children, whoſe tender age rendered them inſenſible of their ſituation, ſtruck the ſpectators, amidſt the public rejoicings and proſperity, with the tendereſt ſorrow and compaſſion. The King appeared next in the proceſſion—and ſeemed like one confounded and aſtoniſhed, and bereft of all ſentiment, by the greatneſs of his calamities. His friends and miniſters followed after him. As they moved along, they often caſt their eyes upon their fallen ſovereign, and always burſt into tears at the ſight—their whole behaviour demonſtrating that they thought not of their own misfortunes, but were occupied intirely by the ſuperior greatneſs of his. The generous Romans, on the contrary, beheld him with diſdain and indignation, and regarded as unworthy of all compaſſion the man who could be ſo mean ſpirited as to bear to live under ſuch calamities. Yet what

what did thoſe calamities amount to? He was to ſpend the remainder of his days, in a ſtate, which of itſelf ſhould ſeem worthy of envy; a ſtate of plenty, eaſe, leiſure and ſecurity, from which it was impoſſible for him, even by his own folly, to fall. But he was no longer to be ſurrounded by that admiring mob of fools, flatterers, and dependants, who had formerly been accuſtomed to attend all his motions; he was no longer to be gazed upon by multitudes, nor to have it in his power to render himſelf the object of their reſpect, their gratitude, their love, and their admiration. The paſſions of nature were no longer to mould themſelves upon his inclinations. This was that inſupportable calamity, which bereaved the king of all ſentiment; which made his friends forget their own misfortunes, and which the Roman magnanimity could ſcarce conceive how any man could be ſo mean ſpirited as to bear to ſurvive.

"To thoſe who have been accuſtomed to the poſſeſſion, or even to the hope of public admiration, all other pleaſures ſicken and decay.

"Of ſuch mighty importance does it appear to be, in the imaginations of men, to ſtand in that ſituation which ſets them moſt in the view of general ſympathy, and attention; and thus place that great object which divides the wives of aldermen, is the end of half the labours of human life; and is the cauſe of all the tumult and buſtle, all the rapine and injuſtice, which avarice and ambition have introduced into this world. People of ſenſe, it is ſaid indeed, deſpiſe place; that is to ſay they deſpiſe ſetting at the head of the table, and are indifferent who it is that is pointed out to the company by that frivolous

volous circumſtance which the ſmalleſt advantage is capable of overballancing. But rank, diſtinction, pre-eminence, no man deſpiſes."

No. 11.

Heroes proceed! What bounds your pride ſhall hold?
What check reſtrain your thirſt of power and gold?

THE anſwer to the queſtion, in the motto, can be none other than this, that as nature has eſtabliſhed in the boſoms of heroes no limits to thoſe paſſions; and as the world, inſtead of reſtraining encourages them, the check muſt be, in the form of government.

The world encourages ambitiou and avarice, by taking the moſt decided part in their favor. The Roman world approved of the ambition of Cæſar; and, notwithſtanding all the pains that have been taken with ſo much reaſon, by moral and political writers to diſgrace it, the world has approved it theſe ſeventeen hundred years; and ſtill eſteems his name an honor to the firſt empire in Europe. Conſider the ſtory of the ambition and the fall of Cardinal Wolſey, and Archbiſhop Laud; the indignation of the world againſt their tyranny has been very faint; the ſympathy with their fall has been very ſtrong. Conſider all the examples in hiſtory of ſucceſsful ambition, you will find none generally condemned by mankind; on the other hand, think of the inſtances of ambition, unſucceſsful and diſappointed; or of falls from

from great heights, you find the ſympathy of the world univerſally affected. Cruelty and tyranny of the blackeſt kind muſt accompany the ſtory, to deſtroy or ſenſibly diminiſh this pity. That world, for the regulations of whoſe prejudices, paſſions, imaginations and intereſts, governments are inſtituted, is ſo unjuſt, that neither religion, natural nor revealed, nor any thing, but a well ordered and well balanced government has ever been able to correct it, and that but imperfectly. It is as true in modern London, as it was in ancient Rome, that the ſympathy of the world is leſs excited by the deſtruction of the houſe of a man of merit, in obſcurity, or even in middle life, though it be by the unjuſt violence of men, than by the ſame calamity befalling a rich man, by the righteous indignation of heaven.

Nil habuit Codrus: quis enim negat? et tamen illud
Perdidit infelix totum nil: ultimus autem
Æiumnæ cumulus, quod nudum et fruſta rogantem
Nemo cibo, nemo hoſpitio tectoque juvabit.
Si magna Arturi cecidit domus, horrida mater,
Pullati proceres, differt vadimonia Prætor:
Tunc gemimus caſus urbis, tunc odimus ignem.
Ardet adhuc, et jam, accurrit qui marmora donet,
Conferat impenſas. Hic nuda et candida ſigna;
Hic aliquid præclarum Euphranoris et Polycleti,
Hic phæcaſianorum vetera ornamenta Deorum.
Hic libros dabit et forulos, mediamque Minervam;
Hic modium argenti: meliora et plura reponit
Perſicus orborum lautiſſimus, ut merito jam
Suſpectus, tanquam ipſe ſuas incenderit ædes.

But hark! th' affrighted crowd's tumultuous cries
Roll through the ſtreets, and thunder to the ſkies:
Rais'd from ſome pleaſing dream of wealth and power,
Some pompous palace, or ſome bliſsful bower,
Aghaſt you ſtart, and ſcarce with aching ſight,
Suſtain the approaching fire's tremendous light;
Swift from purſuing horrors take your way,
And leave your little all to flames a prey;

Then

Then thro' the world a wretched vagrant roam,
For where can ſtarving merit find a home?
In vain your mournful narrative diſcloſe,
While all neglect, and moſt inſult your woes.
——————— But
Should heavn's juſt bolts Orgilio's wealth confound
And ſpread his flaming palace on the ground,
Swift o'er the land the diſmal rumour flies,
And public mournings pacify the ſkies;
The Laureat tribe in venal verſe relate,
How virtue wars with perſecuting fate;
With well-feign'd gratitude the pen'ſion'd band
Refund the plunder of the beggar'd land.
See! while he builds, the gaudy vaſſals come,
And crowd with ſudden wealth the riſing dome;
The price of boroughs and of ſouls reſtore;
And raiſe his treaſures higher than before:
Now bleſs'd with all the baubles of the great,
The poliſh'd marble and the ſhining plate,
Orgilio ſees the golden pile aſpire,
And hopes from angry heav'n another fire.

Although the verſe, both of the Roman and the Briton, is ſatire, its keeneſt ſeverity conſiſts in its truth.

No. 12.

Order is Heaven's firſt law—and this confeſs'd,
Some are, and muſt be, greater than the reſt:
More rich, more wiſe—But who infers from hence,
That ſuch are happier, ſhocks all common ſenſe.

THE world is ſenſible of the neceſſity of ſupporting their favourites under the firſt onſets of misfortune—leſt the fall ſhould be dreadful and irrecoverable—for according to the great Maſter of Nature, 'Tis

'Tis certain, greatneſs, once fallen out with fortune,
Muſt fall out with men too: What the declin'd is
He ſhall as ſoon read in the eyes of others,
As feel in his own fall: for men, like butterflies,
Shew not their mealy wings but to the ſummer;
And not a man for being ſingly man,
Hath any honor; but's honor'd for thoſe honors
That are without him, as place, riches, favor,
Prizes of accident as oft as merit.

Mankind are ſo ſenſible of theſe things, that by a kind of inſtinct or intuition, they generally follow the advice of the ſame author.

Take the inſtant way,
For honor travels in a ſtraight ſo narrow
Where one but goes abreaſt: Keep then the path;
For emulation hath a thouſand ſons,
That one by one purſue; if you give way,
Or hedge aſide from the direct forth-right,
Like to an enter'd tide, they all ruſh by,
And leave you hindmoſt;
Or like a gallant horſe, fall'n in firſt rank,
Lie there for pavement to the abject rear,
O'errun and trampled on.

The inference from all the contemplations and experiments which have been made, by all nations, upon theſe diſpoſitions to imitation, emulation, and rivalry, is expreſſed by the ſame great teacher of morality and politics.

Degree being vizarded,
Th' unworthieſt ſhews as fairly in the maſk.
The Heaven's themſelves, the Planets and this centre,
Obſerve degree, priority and place,
Inſiſture, courſe, proportion, ſeaſon, form,
Office and cuſtom, in all line of order:
And therefore is the glorious planet Sol,
In noble eminence, enthron'd and ſpher'd
Amidſt the others; whoſe med'cinable eye
Corrects the ill aſpects of planets evil,
And poſts like the commandment of a King,

Sans

Sans check, to good and bad; but when the planets
In evil mixture, to diſorder wander,
What plagues and what portents! what mutiny!
What raging of the ſea! Shaking of earth!
Commotion in the winds! Frights, changes, horrors,
Divert and crack, rend and deracinate,
The unity and married calm of States,
Quite from their fixure? O, when Degree is ſhak'd,
Which is the ladder to all high deſigns,
The enterprize is ſick! How could communities,
Degrees in ſchools, and brotherhoods in cities,
The primogenitive and due of birth,
Prerogative of age, crowns, ſceptres, laurels,
But by Degree ſtand in authentic place?
Take but Degree away; untune that ſtring
And hark! what diſcord follows! each thing meets
In meer oppugnancy: the bounded waters
Should lift their boſoms, higher than the ſhores,
And make a ſop, of all this ſolid globe:
Strength ſhould be lord of imbecility,
And the rude ſon ſhould ſtrike his father dead:
Force ſhould be right; or rather right and wrong
Should loſe their names, and ſo ſhould juſtice too.
Then every thing includes itſelf in power,
Power into will, will into appetite;
And appetite an univerſal wolf,
Muſt make perforce an univerſal prey,
And laſt eat up himſelf.
This chaos, when Degree is ſuffocate
Follows the choaking.
The General's diſdain'd,
By him one ſtep below: he by the next;
That next by him beneath: ſo every ſtep
Exampled by the firſt pace, that is ſick
Of his ſuperior, grows to an envious fever
Of pale and bloodleſs emulation.
Troy in our weakneſs ſtands, not in her ſtrength.
Moſt wiſely hath Ulyſſes here diſcovered
The Fever, whereof all our power is ſick.

No. 13.

Think We, like ſome weak Prince, th' eternal cauſe
Prone, for his fav'rites, to reverſe his laws?

EMULATION, which is imitation and ſomething more—a deſire not only to equal or reſemble, but to excel, is ſo natural a movement of the human heart, that, wherever men are to be found, and in whatever manner aſſociated or connected, we ſee its effects. They are not more affected by it, as individuals, than they are in communities. There are rivalries between every little ſociety in the ſame city—between families and all the connections by conſanguinity and affinity—between trades, faculties, and profeſſions—between congregations, pariſhes and churches—between ſchools, colleges, and univerſities—between diſtricts, villages, cities, provinces and nations.

National rivalries are more frequently the cauſe of wars than the ambition of miniſters, or the pride of kings.—As long as there is patriotiſm, there will be national emulation, vanity and pride. It is national pride which commonly ſtimulates kings and miniſters.—National fear, apprehenſion of danger, and the neceſſity of ſelf-defence, is added to ſuch rivalries for wealth, conſideration and power. The ſafety, independence, and exiſtence of a nation, depends upon keeping up an high ſenſe of its own honor, dignity and power in the hearts of its individuals, and a lively jealouſy of the growing power and aſpiring ambition

bition of a neighbouring State.—This is well illuſtrated in the Political Geography, publiſhed in our newſpapers from London, within a few weeks. "The jealouſies and enmities, the alliances and friendſhips, or rather the combinations of different States and Princes, might almoſt be learned from a map, without attention to what has paſſed, or is now paſſing in the world. Next neighbours are political enemies: States between which a common neighbor, and therefore a common enemy intervenes, are good friends. In this reſpect Europe may be compared to a cheſs board, marked with the black, and with the white ſpots of political diſcord and concord.—Before the union between England and Scotland, a friendſhip and alliance ſubſiſted for centuries, between the latter of theſe kingdoms and France, becauſe they were both inimical to England. For a like reaſon, before a Prince of Bourbon, in the beginning of the preſent century, was raiſed to the Spaniſh throne, a good underſtanding ſubſiſted for the moſt part, between England and Spain, and before the late alliance, there was peace and kindneſs, with little interruption, for the ſpace of centuries, between England and the Emperor. An alliance has long ſubſiſted between the French and the Turks, on account of the intervening dominion of the Auſtrians. The Swedes were long the friends of France, on account of the intervention of Holland and Denmark—and becauſe Sweden, the friend of France, was ſituated in the neighborhood of the Ruſſian territories, a friendſhip and commercial intercourſe was eſtabliſhed, from the very firſt time that Muſcovy appears on the political theatre of Europe, between England and Ruſſia. It is ſuperfluous to multiply inſtances

ces of this kind. All paſt hiſtory and preſent obſervation will confirm the truth of our poſition —which, though very ſimple, is like all other ſimple truths, of very great importance—for, however the accidental caprices and paſſions of individual Princes, or their miniſters, may alter the relative diſpoſitions and intereſts of nations for a time, there is a natural tendency to revert to the alteration already deſcribed. We have been led into theſe reflections by the treaty offenſive and defenſive, that has been formed between Sweden, Pruſſia, and the Sublime Porte—between Pruſſia and Holland—and the report which is very probable, that a treaty offenſive and defenſive is on the point of being concluded between Turkey and Poland. In this chain of alliances we find the order of the cheſsboard adhered to, in ſome inſtances, but paſſed over in others. It is obſerved there ſhould be an alliance between Ruſſia and Sweden—and alſo that there ſhould be an alliance between Poland and Turkey, becauſe Ruſſia intervenes between Turkey and Sweden, and Hungary between Turkey and Poland—but that there ſhould be an alliance between Poland and Pruſſia is owing to particular and accidental circumſtances. The two former alliances may therefore be expected to be laſting—the latter to be only temporary and precarious. In general the chain of alliance, that is formed or forming, among the Swedes, Pruſſians, Poles, Dutch, Turks, and we may ſay the Engliſh, is a moſt ſtriking proof, of the real or ſuppoſed ſtrength and influence of the two imperial courts of Ruſſia and Germany."

The writer of this paragraph might have added the alliance between England and Portugal, and that

that between the United States of America and France. The principle of all theſe examples is as natural as emulation, and as infallible as the ſincerity of intereſt. On it, turns the whole ſyſtem of human affairs. The Congreſs of 1776 were fully aware of it. With no ſmall degree of vehemence, was it urged, as an argument for the declaration of Independence: with confidence and firmneſs was it foretold, that France could not avoid accepting the propoſitions that ſhould be made to her; that the Court of Verſailles could not anſwer it, to her own ſubjects, and that all Europe would pronounce her blind, loſt and undone, if ſhe rejected ſo fair an opportunity of diſembarraſſing herſelf, from the danger of ſo powerful and hoſtile a rival, whoſe naval ſuperiority held all her foreign dominions, her maritime power and commercial intereſt, at mercy.

But why all this of Emulation and Rivalry?—Becauſe, as the whole hiſtory of the civil wars of France, given us by *Davila*, is no more than a relation of rivalries, ſucceeding each other in a rapid ſeries, the reflections we have made will aſſiſt us, both to underſtand that noble hiſtorian, and to form a right judgment of the ſtate of affairs in France at the preſent moment. They will ſuggeſt alſo to *Americans*, eſpecially to thoſe who have been unfriendly, and may be now lukewarm to their national Conſtitution, ſome uſeful enquiries, ſuch as thoſe for examples: Whether ttere are not emulations, of a ſerious complexion among ourſelves? between cities and univerſities? between North and South? The Middle and the North? The Middle and the South? between one ſtate and another? between the governments of States and the National Government?

ment? and between individual patriots and heroes in all theſe? What is the natural remedy againſt the inconveniences and dangers of theſe rivalries? Whether a well-balanced Conſtitution—ſuch as that of our Union purports to be, ought not to be cordially ſupported, till its defects, if it has any, can be corrected, by every good citizen, as our only hope of peace, and our ark of ſafety?—But it muſt be left to the contemplations of our State Phyſicians to diſcover the cauſes and the remedy of that "*fever, whereof our power is ſick.*" One queſtion only ſhall be reſpectfully inſinuated: Whether equal laws, the reſult only of a balanced government, can ever be obtained and preſerved without ſome ſigns or other of diſtinction and degree?

We are told that our friends, the National Aſſembly of France, have aboliſhed all diſtinctions. But be not deceived, my dear countrymen. Impoſſibilities cannot be performed. Have they levelled all fortunes, and equally divided all property? Have they made all men and women equally wiſe, elegant, and beautiful? Have they annihilated the names of Bourbon and Montmorency, Rochefoucalt and Noailles, La Fayette and La Moignon, Neckar and de la Calonne, Mirabeau and Bailey? Have they committed to the flames all the records, annals and hiſtories of the nation? All the copies of Mezerai, Daniel, de Thou, Veilly, and a thouſand others? Have they burned all their pictures, and broken all their ſtatues? Have they blotted out of all memories, the names, places of abode, and illuſtrious actions of all their anceſtors? Have they not ſtill Princes of the firſt and ſecond order, Nobles and Knights? Have they no record nor memory who are the men, who

who compoſe the preſent National Aſſembly?—Do they wiſh to have that diſtinction forgotten? Have the French officers who ſerved in America melted their Eagles, and torn their ribbons?

No. 14.

'Tis with our judgments as our watches—none
Go juſt alike, yet each believes his own.

ALL the miracles enumerated in our laſt number, muſt be performed in France, before all diſtinctions can be annihilated, and diſtinctions in abundance would be found, after all, for French gentlemen, in the hiſtory of England, Holland, Spain, Germany, Italy, America, and all other countries on the globe.

The wiſdom of nations has remarked the univerſal conſideration paid to wealth; and that the paſſion of avarice, excited by it, produced treachery, cowardice, and a ſelfiſh unſocial meanneſs, but had no tendency to produce thoſe virtues of patience, courage, fortitude, honor, or patriotiſm, which the ſervice of the public required in their citizens, in peace and war.

The wiſdom of nations has obſerved, that the general attention paid to birth, produced a different kind of ſentiments; thoſe of pride in the maxims and principles in religion, morals and government, as well as in the talents and virtues which firſt produced illuſtration to anceſtors.

As

As the pride of wealth produced nothing but meanneſs of ſentiment, and a ſordid ſcramble for money; and the pride of birth produced ſome degree of emulation in knowledge and virtue; the wiſdom of nations has endeavoured to employ one prejudice to counteract another; the prejudice in favor of birth, to moderate, correct, and reſtrain the prejudice in favor of wealth.

The National Aſſembly of France is too enlightened a body to overlook the enquiry. What effect on the moral character of the nation would be produced, by deſtroying, if that were poſſible, all attention to families, and ſetting all the paſſions on the purſuit of gain. Whether univerſal venality, and an incorrigible corruption in elections would not be the neceſſary conſequence. It may be relied on, however, that the intentions of that auguſt and magnanimous aſſembly, are miſunderſtood and miſrepreſented. Time will develope their deſigns, will ſhew them to be more judicious than to attempt impoſſibilities ſo obvious, as that of the abolition of all diſtinctions.

ALPHONSUS the tenth, the aſtronomical king of Caſtile, has been accuſed of impiety, for ſaying that "if, at the time of the creation, he had been called to the councils of the divinity, he could have given ſome uſeful advice, concerning the motions of the ſtars." It is not probable, that any thing was intended by him, more than an humorous ſarcaſm, or a ſneer of contempt, at the Ptolemaic ſyſtem, a projection of which he had before him. But if the National Aſſembly ſhould have ſeriouſly in contemplation, and ſhould reſolve in earneſt the total abolition of all diſtinctions and orders, it would be much more difficult to vindicate them from an accuſation of impiety.

piety. God, in the conſtitution of nature, has ordained that every man ſhall have a diſpoſition to emulation, as well as imitation, and conſequently a paſſion for diſtinction, and that all men ſhall not have equal means and opportunities of gratifying it. Shall we believe the National Aſſembly capable of reſolving that no man ſhall have any deſire of diſtinction; or that all men ſhall have equal means of gratifying it?—Or that no man ſhall have any means of gratifying it? What would this be better than ſaying, "if we had been called to the councils of the celeſtials, we could have given better advice in the conſtitution of human nature?" If nature and that aſſembly, could be thus at variance, which however is not credible, the world would ſoon ſee, which is the moſt powerful.

That there is already a ſciſſion, in the National Aſſembly, like all others, paſt, preſent, and to come, is moſt certain. There is an ariſtocratical party, a democratical party, an armed neutrality, and moſt probably a monarchial party: beſides another diviſion, who muſt finally prevail, or liberty will be loſt: I mean a ſet of members, who are equal friends to monarchy, ariſtocracy, and democracy, and wiſh for an equal independent mixture of all three in their conſtitution. Each of theſe parties has its chief, and theſe chiefs are or will be rivals. Religion will be both the object and the pretext of ſome: liberty, of others: ſubmiſſion and obedience of others: and leveling, downright levelling, of not a few. But the attention, conſideration and congratulations of the public, will be the object of all. Situation and office will be aimed at by ſome of all parties. Conteſts and diſſentions will ariſe between theſe runners in the ſame race. The natural and uſual

progreſs, is, from debate in the aſſembly to diſcuſſions in print; from the ſearch of truth and public utility in both, to ſophiſtry and the ſpirit of party: Evils ſo greatly dreaded by the ingenuous "Citizen of New-Heaven," to whom we have now the honor of paying our firſt reſpects, hoping that hereafter we may find an opportunity to make him our more particular compliments.* From ſophiſtry and party ſpirit, the tranſition is quick and eaſy to falſhood, impoſture, and every ſpecies of artificial evolution and criminal intrigue. As unbalanced parties of every deſcription, can never tolerate a free enquiry of any kind, when employed againſt themſelves, the licence and even the moſt temperate freedom of the preſs, ſoon excites reſentment and revenge. A writer, unpopular with an oppoſite party, becauſe he is too formidable in wit or argument, may firſt be burnt in effigy: or a printer may have his office aſſaulted: cuffs and kicks, boxes and cudgels, are heard of, among plebeian ſtateſmen; challenges and ſingle combats among the ariſtocratic legiſlators—Riots and ſeditions at length break men's bones, or flea off their ſkins. Lives are loſt: and when blood is once drawn, men, like other animals, become outrageous: If one party has not a ſuperiority over the other, clear enough to decide every thing at its pleaſure, a civil war enſues. When the nation arrives at this period of the progreſſion, every leader, at the head of his votaries, even if you admit him to have the beſt intentions in the world, will find himſelf compelled to form them into ſome military arrangement, both for offence and defence; to build

* Alluding to four Letters publiſhed about that time, by Condorcet, who called himſelf a Citizen of New Heaven, in which he recommended a Government in a Single Aſſembly, which was accordingly adopted, and ruined France.

build caſtles and fortify eminences, like the feudal Barons. For ariſtocratical rivalries and democratical rivalries too, when unbalanced againſt each other, by ſome third mediating power, naturally and unfailingly produce a feudal ſyſtem.— If this ſhould be the courſe in France, the poor, deluded, and devoted partizans would ſoon be fond enough of decorating their leaders, with the old titles of dukes, marquiſſes and counts, or doing any thing elſe, to increaſe the power of their commander over themſelves, to unite their wills and forces for their own ſafety and defence, or to give him weight with their enemies.*

The men of letters in France, are wiſely reforming one feudal ſyſtem; but may they not unwiſely, lay the foundation of another? A legiſlature in one aſſembly, can have no other termination than in civil diſſention, feudal anarchy, or ſimple monarchy. The beſt apology which can be made for their freſh attempt of a ſovereignty in one aſſembly, an idea at leaſt as ancient in France as *Stephen Boetius*, is, that it is only intended to be momentary. If a ſenate had been propoſed, it muſt have been formed, moſt probably of Princes of the blood, Cardinals, Archbiſhops, Dukes and Marquiſſes, and all theſe together would have obſtructed the progreſs of the reformation in religion and government, and procured an abortion, to the regeneration of France. Pennſylvania eſtabliſhed her ſingle aſſembly in 1776, upon the ſame principle. An apprehenſion that the Proprietary and Quaker intereſts would prevail, to the election of characters diſaffected to the American cauſe, finally preponderated againſt two legiſlative councils. Pennſylvania, and Georgia, who followed her example, have found by experience, the neceſſity of a change

*This has all been accompliſhed in the new Emperor Napoleon. 1804.

change: and France, by the ſame infallible progreſs of reaſoning, will diſcover the ſame neceſſity: Happy indeed, if the experiment ſhall not coſt her more dear. That the ſubject is conſidered in this light, by the beſt friends of liberty in Europe, appears by the words of Dr. Price, lately publiſhed in this paper.—"Had not the ariſtocratical and clerical orders," ſays that ſage and amiable writer, "have been obliged to throw themſelves into one chamber with the commons, no reformation could have taken place, and the regeneration of the kingdom would have been impoſſible. And in future legiſlatures, were theſe two orders to make diſtinct and independent ſtates, all that has been done would probably be ſoon undone. Hereafter, perhaps, when the new conſtitution, as now formed, has acquired ſtrength by time, the National Aſſembly may find it practicable as well as expedient, to eſtabliſh by means of a third Eſtate, ſuch a check, as now takes place in the American government, and is indiſpenſible in the Britiſh government."*

No. 15.

First follow nature, and your judgment frame
By her juſt ſtandard, which is ſtill the ſame.

THE world grows more enlightened: Knowledge is more equally diffuſed: News-papers, Magazines, and circulating libraries, have made mankind wiſer: Titles and diſtinctions, ranks and

* It is to be lamented that the Doctor had not lived to 1804, to ſee the errors into which his honeſt enthuſiaſm betrayed him.

and orders, parade and ceremony, are all going out of faſhion. This is roundly and frequently aſſerted in the ſtreets, and ſometimes on theatres of higher *rank*. Some truth there is in it: and if the opportunity were temperately improved, to the reformation of abuſes, the rectification of errors, and the diſſipation of pernicious prejudices, a great advantage it might be. But, on the other hand, falſe inferences may be drawn from it, which may make mankind wiſh for the age of Dragons, Giants and Fairies. If all decorum, diſcipline and ſubordination are to be deſtroyed, and univerſal pyrrhoniſm, anarchy, and inſecurity of property are to be introduced, nations will ſoon wiſh their books in aſhes, ſeek for darkneſs and ignorance, ſuperſtition and fanaticiſm, as bleſſings, and follow the ſtandard of the firſt mad deſpot, who, with the enthuſiaſm of another Mahomet, will endeavour to obtain them.

Are riches, honors, and beauty going out of faſhion? Is not the rage for them, on the contrary, increaſed faſter than improvement, in knowledge? As long as either of theſe are in vogue, will there not be emulations and rivalries? Does not the increaſe of knowledge in any man, increaſe his emulation; and the diffuſion of knowledge among men, multiply rivalries? Has the progreſs of ſcience, arts and letters, yet diſcovered that there are no paſſions in human nature? No ambition, avarice or a deſire of fame? Are theſe paſſions cooled, diminiſhed or extinguiſhed? Is the rage for admiration leſs ardent in men or women? Have theſe propenſities leſs a tendency to diviſions, controverſies, ſeditions, mutinies, and civil wars, than formerly? On the contrary, the more knowledge is diffuſed, the more the paſſions are extended, and the more furious they grow?

grow? Had Cicero leſs vanity, or Cæſar leſs ambition, for their vaſt erudition? Had the King of Pruſſia leſs of one, than the other? There is no connection in the mind between ſcience and paſſion, by which the former can extinguiſh or diminiſh the latter: it on the contrary ſometimes increaſes them, by giving them exerciſe. Were the paſſions of the Romans leſs vivid, in the age of Pompey, than in the time of Mummius? Are thoſe of the Britons, more moderate at this hour than in the reigns of the Tudors? Are the paſſions of Monks, the weaker for all their learning? Are not jealouſy, envy, hatred, malice and revenge, as well as emulation and ambition, as rancorous in the cells of Carmelites, as in the courts of Princes? Go to the Royal Society of London: is there leſs emulation for the chair of Sir Iſaac Newton, than there was, and commonly will be for all elective preſidencies? Is there leſs animoſity and rancour, ariſing from mutual emulations in that region of ſcience, than there is among the moſt ignorant of mankind? Go to Paris: how do you find the men of letters? united, friendly, harmonious, meek, humble, modeſt, charitable? prompt to mutual forbearance? unaffuming? ready to acknowledge ſuperior merit? zealous to encourage the firſt ſymptoms of genius? Aſk Voltaire and Roſſeau, Marmontel and De Mably.*

The increaſe and diſſemination of knowledge, inſtead of rendering unneceſſary, the checks of emulation and the balances of rivalry, in the orders of ſociety and conſtitution of government, augment the neceſſity of both. It becomes the more

* The envy, jealouſy, rivalries, factions, cabals, intrigues and animoſities, among the men of letters in Paris, were as violent at leaſt as they were at Court, and as furious, tho' not ſo bloody as they were among the people and their government, under any form of their variable conſtitutions from 1786 to 1804.

more indiſpenſable, that every man ſhould know his place and be made to keep it. Bad men increaſe in knowledge as faſt as good men, and ſcience, arts, taſte, ſenſe and letters, are employed for the purpoſes of injuſtice and tyranny, as well as thoſe of law and liberty; for corruption as well as for virtue.

FRENCHMEN! Act and think like yourſelves! confeſſing human nature, be magnanimous and wiſe. Acknowledging and boaſting yourſelves to be men, avow the feelings of men. The affectation of being exempted from paſſions, is inhuman. The grave pretention to ſuch ſingularity is ſolemn hypocriſy. Both are unworthy of your frank and generous natures. Conſider that government is intended to ſet bounds to paſſions which nature has not limited: and to aſſiſt reaſon, conſcience, juſtice and truth in controuling intereſts, which, without it, would be as unjuſt as uncontroulable.

AMERICANS! rejoice, that from experience, you have learned wiſdom: and inſtead of whimſical and fantaſtical projects, you have adopted a promiſing eſſay, towards a well ordered government. Inſtead of following any foreign example, to return to *the legiſlation of confuſion*, contemplate the means of reſtoring decency, honeſty and order in ſociety, by preſerving, and compleating, if any thing ſhould be found neceſſary to compleat, the balance of your government. In a well balanced government, reaſon, conſcience, truth and virtue muſt be reſpected by all parties, and exerted for the public good. Advert to the principles on which you commenced that glorious ſelf defence, which, if you behave with ſteadineſs and conſiſtency, may ultimately looſen the chains of all mankind. If you will take the trouble

trouble to read over the memorable proceedings of the town of Boſton, on the 28th day of October 1772, when the Committee of Correſpondence of twenty one perſons, was appointed to ſtate the rights of the Coloniſts as men, as chriſtians and as ſubjects, and to publiſh them to the world, with the infringements and violations of them, you will find the great principles of civil and religious liberty, for which you have contended ſo ſucceſsfully, and which the world is contending for after your example. I could tranſcribe with pleaſure, the whole of this immortal pamphlet, which is a real picture of the ſun of liberty, riſing on the human race: but ſhall ſelect only a few words, more directly to the preſent purpoſe. "The firſt fundamental poſitive law of all commonwealths or ſtates, is the eſtabliſhment of the legiſlative power." Page 9.

"It is abſolutely neceſſary, in a mixed government, like that of this Province, that a *due proportion*, or *balance* of power ſhould be eſtabliſhed among the ſeveral branches of the legiſlative. Our anceſtors received from King William and Queen Mary, a charter, by which it was underſtood by both parties in the contract, that ſuch a proportion or balance was fixed; and therefore every thing which renders any one branch of the legiſlative more independent of the other two, than it was originally deſigned, is an alteration of the Conſtitution."

AMERICANS! In your Congreſs at Philadelphia, on Friday, the 14th day of October, 1774, you laid down the fundamental principles, for which you were about to contend, and from which it is to be hoped you will never depart. For aſſerting and vindicating your rights and liberties, you declared,

declared, "That by the immutable laws of nature, the principles of the Engliſh Conſtitution, and your ſeveral charters or compacts, you were entitled to life, liberty and property; that your anceſtors were entitled to all the rights, liberties and immunities of free and natural born ſubjects in England: that you, their deſcendants, were entitled to the exerciſe and enjoyment of all ſuch of them as your local and other circumſtances, enabled you to exerciſe and enjoy. That the foundation of Engliſh liberty, and of all free governments, is, a right in the people, to participate in their legiſlative council. That you were entitled to the common law of England, and more eſpecially to the great and ineſtimable privilege of being tried by your peers of the vicinage, according to the courſe of that law. *That it is indiſpenſably neceſſary to good government, and rendered eſſential by the Engliſh Conſtitution, that the conſtituent branches of the legiſlature, be independent of each other.*" Theſe, among others, you then claimed, demanded and inſiſted on, as your indubitable rights and liberties. Theſe are the principles, on which you firſt united and aſſociated, and if you ſteadily and conſiſtently maintain them, they will not only ſecure freedom and happineſs to yourſelves and your poſterity, but your example will be imitated by all Europe, and in time perhaps by all mankind. The nations are in travail, and great events muſt have birth. "The minds of men are in movement from the Boriſthenes to the Atlantic. Agitated with new and ſtrong emotions, they ſwell and heave beneath oppreſſion, as the ſeas within the polar circle, at the approach of ſpring. The genius of philoſophy, with the touch of Ithuriel's ſpear, is trying

the eſtabliſhments of the earth. The various forms of prejudice, ſuperſtition and ſervility, ſtart up, in their true ſhapes, which had long impoſed upon the world, under the revered ſemblances of honor, faith and loyalty. Whatever is looſe muſt be ſhaken; whatever is corrupted muſt be lopt away; whatever is not built on the broad baſis of public utility, muſt be thrown to the ground. Obſcure murmurs gather and ſwell into a tempeſt; the ſpirit of enquiry like a ſevere and ſearching wind, penetrates every part of the great body politic; and whatever is unſound, whatever is infirm, ſhrinks at the viſitation. Liberty, led by philoſophy, diffuſes her bleſſings to every claſs of men; and even extends a ſmile of hope and promiſe to the poor African, the victim of hard impenetrable avarice. Man, as man, becomes an object of reſpect. Tenets are transferred, from theory to practice. The glowing ſentiment, the lofty ſpeculation, no longer ſerve "but to adorn the pages of a book:" they are

your errors, which have coſt you very dear. Aſſiſt her, by your example, to rectify them before they involve her in calamities, as much greater than yours, as her population is more unwieldy, and her ſituation more expoſed to the baleful influence of rival neighbours. Amidſt all their exultations, AMERICANS and FRENCHMEN ſhould remember, that the perfectability of man, is only human and terreſtial perfectability. Cold will ſtill freeze, and fire will never ceaſe to burn; diſeaſe and vice will continue to diſorder, and death to terrify mankind. Emulation next to ſelf preſervation will forever be the great ſpring of human actions, and the balance of a well ordered government, will alone be able to prevent that emulation from degenerating into dangerous ambition, irregular rivalries, deſtructive factions, waſting ſeditions, and bloody civil wars.

The great queſtion will forever remain, *who ſhall work?* Our ſpecies cannot all be idle. Leiſure for ſtudy muſt ever be the portion of a few. The number employed in government, muſt forever be very ſmall. Food, raiment and habitations, the indiſpenſible wants of all, are not to be obtained without the continual toil of ninety-nine in an hundred of mankind. As reſt is rapture to the weary man, thoſe who labor little will always be envied by thoſe who labor much, though the latter, in reality, be probably the moſt enviable. With all the encouragements public and private, which can ever be given to general education, and it is ſcarcely poſſible they ſhould be too many, or too great, the laboring part of the people, can never be learned. The controverſy between the rich and the poor, the laborious and the idle, the learned and the ignorant,

rant, diſtinctions as old as the creation, and as extenſive as the globe; diſtinctions which no art or policy, no degree of virtue or philoſophy can ever wholly deſtroy, will continue, and rivalries will ſpring out of them. Theſe parties will be repreſented in the legiſlature, and muſt be balanced, or one will oppreſs the other. There will never probably be found, any other mode of eſtabliſhing ſuch an equilibrium, than by conſtituting the repreſentation of each, an independent branch of the legiſlature, and an independent executive authority, ſuch as that in our government, to be a third branch, and a mediator or an arbitrator between them. Property muſt be ſecured, or liberty cannot exiſt: but if unlimited, or unballanced power of diſpoſing property, be put into the hands of thoſe, who have no property, France will find, as we have found, the lamb committed to the cuſtody of the wolf. In ſuch a caſe, all the pathetic exhortations and addreſſes of the National Aſſembly to the people, to reſpect property, will be regarded no more than the warbles of the ſongſters of the foreſt. The great art of law-giving conſiſts in balancing the poor againſt the rich in the legiſlature, and in conſtituting the legiſlative, a perfect balance againſt the executive power, at the ſame time, that no individual or party can become its rival. The eſſence of a free government conſiſts in an effectual controul of rivalries. The executive and the legiſlative powers are natural rivals; and if each, has not an effectual controul over the other, the weaker, will ever be the lamb in the paws of the wolf. The nation which will not adopt an equilibrium of power, muſt adopt a deſpotiſm. There is no other alternative. Rivalries

valries muſt be controuled, or they will throw all things into confuſion; and there is nothing but deſpotiſm, or a balance of power, which can controul them. Even in the ſimple monarchies, the nobility and the judicatures, conſtitute a balance, though a very imperfect one, againſt the royalties.

Let us conclude with one reflection more, which ſhall barely be hinted at, as delicacy, if not prudence, may require, in this place, ſome degree of reſerve. Is there a poſſibility, that the government of nations may fall into the hands of men, who teach the moſt diſconſolate of all creeds, that men are but fire-flies, and that this *all* is without a father? Is this the way, to make man, as man, an object of reſpect? Or is it, to make murder itſelf, as indifferent as ſhooting a plover, and the extermination of the Rohilla nation, as innocent, as the ſwallowing of mites, on a morſel of cheeſe? If ſuch a caſe ſhould happen, would not one of theſe, the moſt credulous of all believers, have reaſon to pray, to his eternal nature, or his almighty chance, (the more abſurdity there is in this addreſs the more in character) *give us again the gods of the Greeks—give us again the more intelligible as well as more comfortable ſyſtems of Athanaſius and Calvin—nay, give us again our Popes and Hiearchies, Benedictines and Jeſuits, with all their ſuperſtition and fanaticiſm, impoſtures and tyranny.* A certain Dutcheſs of venerable years and maſculine underſtanding, ſaid of ſome of the Philoſophers of the eighteenth century, admirably well, "On ne croit pas, dans le Chriſtianiſme, mais on croit, toutes les ſottiſes poſſibles."

No.

No. 16.

Oppoſant, ſans relâche, avec trop de prudence,
Les *Guiſes* aux *Condés*, et la France a la France.
Toujours prête á s'unir avec ſes ennemis
Et changeant d'intérêt, de rivaux, et d'amis.

THE rivalry, between the houſes of Guiſe and Montmorency, or in other words, the ambition of the Cardinal de Lorrain, and the Duke of Guiſe, to outſtrip the Montmorency, produced a war. Charles the Vth. was preparing with a numerous army to lay ſiege to Metz. It was not doubted that the conduct of ſo important a war, would be committed to one of the two favorites. But the Conſtable Montmorency, more than ſixty years of age, preferred a reſidence near the perſon of the King, to a riſque of his reputation, in new dangers. The Duke of Guiſe, on the contrary, full of courage, and burning with ardor to diſtinguiſh himſelf, ſolicited the command, with the more vivacity, as he ſaw no other reſource than in military ſucceſſes, to efface the credit, and eclipſe the glory of the Conſtable. He was therefore charged with the defence of Metz, with the conſent, or at leaſt, without the oppoſition of the Conſtable, who internally, was not diſpleaſed to ſee his competitor, expoſe his life, or his reputation to danger. The Duke fulfilled perfectly, the idea, which had been conceived of his valor and prudence—uncertain as the ſucceſs of the enterpriſe had been, he came out of it victorious, and covered with glory. This great action did him ſo much honor with the King, and the

the whole nation, that they committed to him, in preference of all others, the command of the army, which they ſent afterwards to Italy, to reconquer the kingdom of Naples. Either by the fault of the French, or the inconſtancy of their allies, this expedition failed, or, at leaſt produced little advantage: Yet the ill ſucceſs was not imputed to the Duke, who drew from it more glory than he could have done from a victory—For this reaſon: Philip the ſecond King of Spain, upon the abdication of his father, Charles the Vth. turned his arms againſt the frontiers of France, and entered through Flanders into Picardie, to make a diverſion from the war in Italy. The Conſtable, as Governor of that Province, was then obliged to take leave of the King, and, againſt his inclination, run the hazards of war. The loſs of the battle of Saint-Quintin, where the Spaniards took him priſoner, ſpread a conſternation through all the neighbouring provinces. The friends of the Guiſes in council, could diſcover no ſurer means of repelling this invaſion of the enemy, of repairing the loſſes, and preventing the conſequences of this defeat, than by recalling from Italy the Duke of Guiſe. The celerity of his return, added to the memorable conqueſts of Calais, Guiſne, and Thionville, fully juſtified theſe hopes, and gave him that ſuperiority over the Conſtable, that a Conqueror muſt ever have over one who is conquered.

The Conſtable, however, obtained his liberty, and returned to court. The King's affection for him was not abated. Henry, attributing his late misfortunes to the lot of arms, and the fortune of war, converſed familiarly with him, and, ſtill convinced of his capacity, confided to him the weight of public affairs. In the critical circumſtances

ſtances of the State, the Duke and the Cardinal, who had acquired a great reputation, the one by his exploits, and the other by his abilities, apprehended that if they could not throw ſome powerful obſtacle in the way of the Conſtable, he would riſe higher in favor than ever. They reſolved therefore to gain to their party, Diana, Dutcheſs of Valentinois—to connect their intereſts with hers—and to make her protection and favor ſerve as a foundation of their elevation. And who was Diana? Of illuſtrious birth, deſcended from the ancient houſe of the Counts of Poitiers, in the flower of her age, ſhe united with uncommon beauty, a ſprightly wit, an acute and ſubtle underſtanding, the moſt inſinuating graces of behavior, and all the other qualities which in a young woman, enchant the eyes and captivate the heart. She had married the Seneſchal of Normandy, who ſoon left her a widow, with two daughters. She took advantage of her ſingle ſtate to deliver herſelf up to the pleaſures and amuſements of the Court. Her charms

The Guiſes, without regard to the general diſcontent—ſenſible only to the fear of loſing their power, ſought the friendſhip of the Dutcheſs, who ſoon declared herſelf openly in their favor, and by marrying one of her daughters to the Duke of Aumale, their brother, ſupported them with all her credit. The Conſtable eaſily unravelled the intrigues of the Guiſes, and, not depending on the marks of confidence which he received from the King, thought to fortify himſelf, equally, with the protection of Diana. If the Guiſes had flattered her, by the ſplendor of their birth, he did not deſpair to gain her to his intereſt, by ſatiating her avarice, a paſſion as ungovernable in her heart, as ambition. He began to make his court to her, and endeavored to gain her by conſiderable preſents. He had ſo much at heart the ſucceſs of his meaſures, that in ſpite of his natural pride, he did not heſitate to ſeek alſo her alliance by eſpouſing to Henry Lord of Damville, his ſecond ſon, Antoinette de la Mark, grand daughter by the mother, of the Dutcheſs of Valentinois—a reſolution ſo much the more imprudent, as Diana was already ſtrictly united with the party of the Guiſes, and labor'd ſincerely, with all her power, for their aggrandizement—whereas ſhe favored but coldly the deſigns of the Conſtable. All the means which had been employed in oppoſition to the elevation of the Guiſes, became uſeleſs. To the merit of their ſervices—to the intrigues by which they had continually advanced themſelves; at the time, when they diſputed with ſo much vivacity with their rivals, for the firſt rank at the Court, was added, the marriage of Francis, the Dauphin of France, and the eldeſt ſon of the

King, with the Princeſs Mary, ſole heir of the kingdom of Scotland, daughter of James Stuart, lately deceaſed, by Mary of Lorrain, ſiſter of the Duke and Cardinal. An alliance of ſo much magnificence, drew them near to the throne. There remained now, to the Conſtable and his family, only the friendly ſentiments, which the King preſerved for them by habit; and to the other courtiers, only the offices of ſmaller importance. The principal dignities, the faireſt governments, and the general ſuperintendance of affairs, civil and military, all were placed in the hands of the Guiſes and their creatures.

While all minds, were held in agitation at Court by theſe events, the Bourbons ſaw themſelves, notwithſtanding their proximity of blood, and pretenſions to the crown, contrary to the uſage of the nation, excluded from employments and honors. Except when the neceſſity of a war, or the exerciſe of ſome office of little conſequence, which remained to them, required their preſence, they appeared not at Court. It is true, that the Count D'Aguien, one of the Princes of this houſe, had advanced himſelf by his merit and valour. The King had given him the command of his army in Piedmont. The battle of Cerizolles, which he gained againſt the Spaniards, had raiſed his reputation. But this advantage was too tranſitory to raiſe the houſe of Bourbon. This Prince died by accident, in the flower of his age, and his brother, the Duke D'Anguien was killed at the battle of St. Quintin. There remained therefore none of the children of Charles of Bourbon, but Anthony Duke of Vendome, and King of Navarre, by his marriage with Jane of Albret; Louis, Prince of Conde, the ſtock of the

the branches of Condé and Conti, killed afterwards at Jarnac, and Charles, Cardinal of Bourbon, proclaimed King afterwards by the Leaguers, under the name of Charles the tenth.

The chiefs of the houſe, were now, Anthony Duke of Vendome, and Louis Prince of Condé, his brother, both ſons of Charles of Vendome, who, after the revolt of the Conſtable de Bourbon, and the captivity of Francis the firſt, by his moderation and diſintereſtedneſs had ſomewhat calmed the hatred which had been violently enkindled againſt thoſe of his blood. Theſe Princes, depreſſed by the Guiſes, whom they called ſtrangers and new comers from Lorrain, complained bitterly, that except the right of ſucceſſion to the crown, which no man could take from them, they were deprived of all their privileges, and eſpecially of the honor of reſiding near the perſon of the King. That they ſcarcely held any rank in a court, where their birth called them to the firſt places after his Majeſty: and that ſuch conduct was equally inconſiſtent with reaſon and equity. The King, however, maintained with inflexibility, the power of the Guiſes againſt all remonſtrances and complaints. The Bourbons endured with leſs impatience, the elevation of the Conſtable Montmorency: on the contrary, they were ſeverely mortified to ſee his credit diminiſh. United with him by an alliance, by views and by intereſts, they flattered themſelves they might obtain by his means a decent rank, if they could not re-aſcend to that which their anceſtors had poſſeſſed. But now, deprived of that hope which ſupports the unfortunate, by ſoftening the ſentiment of their ills, they bore with ſtill greater impatience their diſgraces.

Anthony

Anthony of Vendome, a Prince of a mild and moderate character, appeared to ſupport them with more tranſquility than the others, becauſe he meditated great deſigns. He had married Jane of Albret, only daughter of Henry, King of Navarre, and after the death of his father in law he had taken the crown and title of King. His project was to recover his kingdom of Navarre, of which the Spaniards had made themſelves maſters, for ſeveral years, during the war between Louis the XIIth, and Ferdinand the Catholic. The Kings of France, to whoſe intereſt this ſtate had been ſacrificed, had attempted ſeveral times to reconquer it. The Spaniards, who could eaſily march troops to its relief, had hitherto defended it. But the two crowns, being then upon the point of concluding a ſolid peace, the King of Navarre, hoped to comprehend in the treaty, and to obtain a reſtitution of his hereditary ſtates, or, at leaſt, an equivalent. He was confirmed in this thought, by the birth of a ſon, to whom he gave the name of Henry, in memory of his maternal grandfather. This is the Prince, whom, the ſplendor of his victories raiſed, after long and bloody wars, to the throne of France, under the name of Henry the fourth, and whoſe exploits and virtues have merited the name of great. He was born the 13th of December, 1554, at Pau, the capital of Bern. This birth, which filled with joy the King and Queen of Navarre, inſpired them with more ardor, to recover their dominion. Anthony choſe rather to intereſt the King of France, to demand this reſtitution in the treaty of peace, than to ſolicit in quality of firſt Prince of the blood, governments and dignities in the kingdom. It was this,

this, which engaged him to diſſemble with more patience and moderation than the reſt, the injuſtice done to his houſe. The King, perſiſting in the deſign of lowering continually the Princes of the blood, or perhaps irritated at the refuſal of Anthony, to exchange Bearn and his other ſtates, for cities and territories ſituated in the interior of the kingdom, had diſmembered from Guienne, of which the King of Navarre was governor, as firſt Prince of the blood, Languedoc and the city of Toulouſe, to give the government of it, to the Conſtable. But the King of Navarre, ſhewing little reſentment of this injuſtice, purſued conſtantly his firſt views.

Louis, Prince of Conde, brother to the King of Navarre, full of ambition and inquietude, and not reſtrained by ſimilar intereſts, ſaw with grief the mediocrity of his fortune, anſwer ſo ill to the ſplendor of his birth. Without offices, governments, or employments to ſupport him, he could not bear, but with a diſcontent which he took no pains to conceal, the exceſſive grandeur of the Guiſes, who monopolized for themſelves the firſt dignities and faireſt employments of the kingdom. To his perſonal mortification he joined the diſgrace of the Conſtable, whoſe niece he had eſpouſed. He was ſo ſtrictly connected with him, and the Marchal of Montmorency his ſon, that he ſaw in the humiliation of their houſe, the completion of his own misfortunes. The Admiral of Chatillon, and D'Endelot, his brother, irritated him ſtill more by their advice. The firſt was an ambitious, but an able politician, who took a ſecret advantage of all occaſions, to profit of troubles to raiſe himſelf to high power. The other, fiery, paſſionate, continually occupied

in

in intrigues and plots, ceaſed not, by his diſcourſe and example to nouriſh in the heart of Louis, the hatred already too deeply inkindled. This Prince, tranſported with rage, and almoſt reduced to deſpair, ſaw no reſource for him, but by cauſing a revolution in the State.

Such was the ſituation of affairs—ſuch the jealouſies and animoſities of the Grandees, ready, on the ſlighteſt occaſion, to break out, in an open rupture, when, in the month of July 1559, happened the unexpected death of Henry IId. killed by accident in a tournament by Gabriel Count of Montmorency, one of the Captains of his guards.

Francis IId. his eldeſt ſon, with a weak underſtanding, and a delicate conſtitution, ſucceeded him. Thoſe evils, which even under his father had been expected, haſtened to make themſelves felt, under his feeble reign. Secret enmities were eaſily changed into declared hatreds—and recourſe was ſoon had to arms. The youth and imbecility of the King rendered him incapable of governing. It was neceſſary that he ſhould have; not a guardian, becauſe he had paſſed the age of fourteen years, the term fixed for the majority of the Kings of France; but Miniſters, prudent and laborious, who ſhould govern under his authority, until time ſhould have fortified his underſtanding, and invigorated his conſtitution. The ancient uſage of the kingdom, called the Princes of the blood to this place—and indicated the King of Navarre, and the Prince de Conde, who united to the proximity of blood, an eſtabliſhed reputation. The Duke of Guiſe and the Cardinal of Lorrain, uncles of the King, by his marriage with the Queen of Scots, pretended that this

this honor belonged to them, in conſideration of their long labors and ſervices to the crown, but eſpecially becauſe they had in fact enjoyed it, during the life of the late King. Catherine of Medicis, mother of the King, expected to govern alone: She depended on the filial tenderneſs of her ſon—ſeveral examples authoriſed her pretenſions—but ſhe founded her ſtrengeſt hopes on the diviſions of the Grandees—and the terror of each faction, leaſt the other ſhould carry the point, facilitated her deſign.

The Guiſes were ſenſible that they wanted the advantage of being of the blood, to which the laws and cuſtoms of the nation had uſually confided the government of the kingdom. They foreſaw moreover the empire which the councils of a mother would have over the mind of her ſon, ſtill young and without experience. They reſolved therefore, by joining and acting in concert with her, to divide a power which they deſpaired of obtaining entire. The Queen, a Princeſs of refined genius and maſculine courage, knew that the Princes of the blood, ſuffered with impatience the authority and grandeur of Queens. She thought alſo, that as a ſtranger and an Italian ſhe had occaſion to fortify herſelf, with the ſupport of ſome faction. She conſented therefore cheerfully to combine with the Guiſes, whom ſhe ſaw diſpoſed to accept of part of that authority, which the Bourbons would have pretended to appropriate to themſelves without partition. There was but one obſtacle to the intimacy of this Union, and that was the unlucky connection of the Guiſes with the Dutcheſs of Valentinois, who had poſſeſſed the heart of the late King, to the time of his death. The occaſion was preſſing,

and

and the importance of the buſineſs would not admit of delay. On one hand the Queen, to whom diſſimulation was not difficult, agreed to *appear*, to forget the paſt, with the ſame moderation which ſhe had ſhewn, in bearing with her rival during the life of her husband: On the other, the Guiſes occupied wholly with their preſent intereſt, eaſily betrayed their friend, by conſenting that the Dutcheſs ſhould be diſgraced and diſmiſſed from the Court. They only required that ſhe ſhould not be totally ſtripped of thoſe immenſe riches, which muſt one day revert to the Duke of Aumale, their brother.

The King of Navarre, was then abſent, and very diſcontented with the King and the Court, who, in the treaty concluded with Spain, had given no attention to his intereſts, nor to the reſtitution of his States. The new coalition at Court, had, with great addreſs, diſſembarraſſed themſelves of the Conſtable, by deputing him to do the honors of the obſequies of Henry the ſecond. The perſonage who has that commiſſion, muſt not abſent himſelf from the place where the body is depoſited, during the three and thirty days that the funeral pomp continues. Artifice and accident, having thus removed the two great obſtacles, it was not difficult to obtain, of Francis the ſecond, ſeduced by the careſſes and the charms of his Scottiſh Queen, an arrangement by which he placed the reins of government, in the hands of his neareſt relations. Every thing which concerned the war, was committed to the Duke of Guiſe. The Cardinal had the departments of Juſtice and Finance—and the Queen mother the ſuperintendance of all parts of the government. To eſtabliſh their meaſures, which had

had ſo well ſucceeded, and that the complaints and intrigues of the diſaffected might not ſhake the reſolution of the King, and diſarrange their plan, there was no doubt but the firſt ſtroke of their policy would fall upon the Conſtable, whoſe prudence and credit were dreaded by the Guiſes, and againſt whom the Queen had for ſome time entertained a ſecret averſion. The Guiſes feared him, on account of the jealouſy, which for a long time had openly divided their houſes—becauſe, notwithſtanding the fall of his favour at court, the reputation of his wiſdom, preſerved him a great influence throughout the whole kingdom. In their ſecret interviews with the King, they artfully drew the converſation to this ſubject, and exaggerated to him the reputation which the Conſtable enjoyed.

No. 17.

Ses mains, autour du trône, avec confuſion,
Semaient la jalouſie, et la diviſion.

THE Guiſes, in their ſecret converſations with the King, inſinuated, that if the Conſtable reſided at the Court, he would be aſſuming; would think to govern his Majeſty like an infant, and even to hold him under the ferule and the rod. They repreſented his intimate connections with the Bourbons, the eternal enemies of a crown, to which they had however long aſpired. Finally, they ſuggeſted, that he could not confide in the

Conſtable, without expoſing his life, and the lives of his brothers, to the diſcretion of people, whoſe ambition the Kings, his predeceſſors, had always dreaded; and whom they had ever held in a ſtate of humiliation, and at a diſtance from Court. Penetrating genius eaſily inſpires ſuſpicions into contracted minds. Nothing more was wanting to perſuade a weak King, to ſeek a pretext, honourably to diſmiſs the Conſtable. As ſoon as the ceremony of the obſequies of Henry IId. was compleated, the King overwhelming him with careſſes, ſignified to him, that not being able, with ſufficient dignity to acknowledge his merit, nor the value of the ſervices which he had rendered the Kings, his anceſtors, he had, reſolved to diſcharge him from the cares and burthens of government, too diſproportionate to his great age; that he would no longer require of him, any exceſſive application to buſineſs, but would reſerve him for ſome occaſions of eclat; that he ſhould always conſider him, not as a ſervant and a ſubject, but as a venerable father; and that he would give him leave to retire, wherever he ſaw fit. The Conſtable eaſily comprehended that this leſſon had been taught the King, by the Guiſes, through the Queen mother, and the Queen of Scots: that it would be uſeleſs to remonſtrate; and that it was better to receive as a recompenſe, orders, which his reſiſtance might convert into diſgrace. He thanked the King; recommended to him his ſons and his nephews, and retired to his caſtle at Chantilly, ten leagues from Paris, where, he had more than once before, ſupported viciſſitudes of fortune.

As ſoon as the Queen mother and the Guiſes, had baniſhed the Conſtable, they ſtudied to diſembarraſs

embarraſs themſelves of the Prince de Condé. It was eaſy to foreſee, that his fiery temper, and animoſity againſt the Guiſes, would tranſport him to attempt all the means imaginable, *to change the form of government eſtabliſhed.*

It may be remarked in this place, that theſe expreſſions intimate an idea of reformation of government, and regeneration of nations, like thoſe which prevail at this time, in France, and in many other countries after the example of America. One would conjecture that the Prince of Condé, had it in contemplation to eſtabliſh committees of correſpondence, to call a convention, or national aſſembly; to deliberate on a rational plan of government, to be adopted by the nation at large. There are, indeed, in hiſtory, ſome traces of a party, who wiſhed for a republican government, about this time: but unfortunately, their ideas of a republic, appear to have been the ſame, with thoſe which prevail too much at preſent, in France. Two hundred and fifty years of experience, have not yet brought the nation to advert to the true principles in nature, upon which government is founded. The Marquis of Condorcet, the friend of Turgot and Rochefoucault, ſo great in geometry, is not more accurate in the ſcience of government, than Etienne de la Boetie, the friend of De Thou and Montaine. The ſame reformation is wanting now, that was ſo neceſſary in 1550. Whether a ſovereignty in one ſingle aſſembly, conſtituted by a double repreſentation, as the preſent aſſembly is, would have anſwered then, or will ſucceed now, are queſtions that hereafter may deſerve conſideration. It ended formerly, after an hundred years of civil wars, in the ſimple abſolute monarchy

monarchy of Louis XIVth. Time muſt determine whether the continued deliberations and exertions of the National Aſſembly, will finally obtain a balance in their government. This is the point, on which their ſucceſs will turn; if they fail in this, ſimple monarchy, or what is more to be dreaded, ſimple deſpotiſm, after long ſtruggles will infallibly return. If the wild idea of annihilating the nobility ſhould ſpread far, and be long perſiſted in, the men of letters and the National Aſſembly, as democratical as they may think themſelves, will find no barrier againſt deſpotiſm. The French, as well as the Creek Indians, at this time our reſpectable gueſts, and all other nations, civilized and uncivilized, have their beloved families, and nothing but deſpotiſm ever did or ever can prevent them from being *diſtinguiſhed by the people* Theſe beloved families in France are the nobility. Five eighths of the preſent National Aſſembly are noble. The firſt freſh election will ſhow the world the attachment of the people to thoſe families.* In ſhort, the whole power of the nation will fall into their hands, and a commoner will ſtand no chance for an election after a little time, unleſs he enliſt himſelf under the banner and into the regiment of ſome nobleman. For the commoners, this project of one aſſembly, is the moſt impolitic imaginable. It is the higheſt flight of ariſtocracy. To the royal authority it is equally fatal as to the commons. In what manner the nobility ought to be reformed, modified, methodized, and wrought by repreſentation or otherwiſe, into an independent branch of the legiſlature? What form of government would have been beſt for France, under Francis IId. and whether the ſame is not now

* They never dared to truſt an Election.

now neceſſary, under Louis XVIth, are queſtions too deep and extenſive, perhaps for us to determine. But we are very competent to demonſtrate two propoſitions, firſt, that a ſovereignty in a ſingle aſſembly, cannot ſecure the peace, liberty or ſafety of the people. Secondly, that a federative republic, or in other words, a confederation of the republic of Paris, with the republics of the provinces, will not be ſufficient to ſecure the tranquility, liberty, property or lives of the nation. In ſome future time, if neither buſineſs of more importance, nor amuſements more agreeable ſhould engage us, we may throw together a few thoughts, upon theſe queſtions. This may be done without the ſmalleſt apprehenſion of ever being confuted: for altho we ſhould fail to produce arguments to convince our readers, we know with infallible certainty, that time will ſupply all our defects, and demonſtrate for us, the truth of both the propoſitions.

At preſent we return to the narration of Davila. The Prince de Condé's quality of Prince of the blood, and the want of plauſible pretexts, did not permit the Guiſes, ſo eaſily to diſmiſs him from court. They found, however, a favorable occaſion to ſend him off, for a time, till the new Miniſtry ſhould be well eſtabliſhed, by nominating him Plenipotentiary, to the King of Spain, to ratify the peace and alliance contracted a little before the death of Henry IId. He quitted the court upon this embaſſy, and left the field open for the perfection of projects, which were as yet only in ſketches. The Queen mother and the Guiſes proceeded in the ſame manner with all whom they feared: Strongly determined to conſummate their deſigns, they judged that they could

could not ſucceed, but by arranging all the ſtrong places, as well as the troops, the finances, and all the reſources of the ſtate, under their own diſpoſition; ſo that the moſt important affairs ſhould paſs through no hands but their own, and thoſe of their creatures. Nevertheleſs, to ſhow that they conſulted their intereſt leſs than the public good and their own glory, they did not elevate to dignities, people without merit, and drawn from the duſt, for fear they ſhould be thought to make creatures for themſelves at any rate: but they conferred favors only on perſons, who added acknowledged merit to conſpicuous birth, and above all, eſtimable in the eyes of the people for integrity. This conduct had a double advantage, the firſt, that the people commonly applauded their choice, and their opponents had no pretence to condemn it: the ſecond, that confiding in perſons of honor and fidelity, they were not expoſed to be deceived, nor to ſuſpect their attachment, as it often happens to thoſe who commit the execution of their deſigns to people of baſe extraction, or diſhonored by their manners. In this view, they reſtored to office, Francis Olivier, formerly chancellor of the kingdom, a perſonage of known integrity and inflexible firmneſs, in the exerciſe of his employment. The vigor with which he avowed and ſupported his ſentiments, had cauſed his diſmiſſion from court, from the beginning of the reign of Henry IId. and the inſtigations of the Conſtable had not a little contributed to his diſgrace. They recalled alſo to council, and near the perſon of the King, the Cardinal de Tournon, who, in the time of Francis Iſt. grand-father of the reigning Prince, had the principal conduct of affairs.

affairs. By theſe meaſures, they flattered the multitude, and fulfilled the expectations of the public, without neglecting their own intereſts.

The probity of the Cardinal and the Chancellor, had rendered them dear to the people, who knew how often they had declared themſelves againſt the multiplication of impoſts, with which they were oppreſſed. Moreover, diſgraced by the intrigues of the Conſtable, and recalled with honor by the Guiſes, they muſt, both from reſentment and gratitude, ſupport with their counſels, and all their influence, the projects of aggrandizement, formed by the latter. Many others had been gained by ſimilar artifices: but the ſame management was not uſed with the houſe of Bourbon, nor with the family of the Conſtable. On the contrary, the Princes of Lorrain, drawn away by the deſire of annihilating the credit of their ancient rival, and of abaſing the royal family, ſeized with ardor, every occaſion of diminiſhing the authority and increaſing the loſſes of their enemies.

The Admiral Gaſpard de Coligni, had two different governments; that of the Iſle of France, and that of Picardie; but as the laws of the kingdom, permitted not the poſſeſſion of more than one dignity, or one government at the ſame time, the late King had deſtined that of Picardie, to the Prince de Condé, to appeaſe his reſentment and ſoften his complaints. The Prince earneſtly deſired this favor, to which, indeed, he had juſt pretenſions. His father, and the King of Navarre had ſucceſſively held it; and the Admiral had reſigned it, in conſideration of the Prince. But the death of Henry IId. happening near the ſame time, had hindered the effect of this arrangement, which had already been made public. Francis

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the IId. had no regard to it. At the ſolicitation of the Guiſes, and by a manifeſt injuſtice to the Prince, he granted this place to Charles de Coſſé, Marechal de Briſſac, a captain of high reputation and great valor; but who having been promoted by the favor of the Princes of Lorrain, was cloſely attached to them and ſerved them with zeal. Nor was there more attention paid to Francis of Montmorency, the eldeſt ſon of the Conſtable. He had married Diana, natural daughter of Henry IId. In conſideration of this marriage, he had been promiſed, the office of grand maſter of the King's houſehold, a place which had been long held by his father. From the firſt days of the reign of Francis IId. the Duke of Guiſe, took it for himſelf, that he might add this new eclat to his other dignities, as well as deprive of it, an houſe which he wiſhed to depreſs. Thus the Duke and the Cardinal, embraced with ardor, every occaſion of mortifying their rivals, and aggrandizing themſelves. The Queen mother, who foreſaw that this unlimited ambition and this violent hatred, muſt have fatal effects, deſired that they ſhould act with more moderation, management and dexterity; but ſhe dared not, in the beginning, oppoſe herſelf to the wills, nor traverſe the deſigns of thoſe, whoſe influence was the principal ſupport of her authority.

At this time the Bourbons, excluded from all parts of the government, baniſhed from court, and without hopes of carrying their complaints to the foot of the throne, beginning to reflect upon the ſituation of their affairs, and the conduct of their enemies, who, not content with their preſent grandeur, labored by all ſorts of means to perpetuate it, reſolved, to remain no longer

longer inactive ſpectators of their own misfortunes, but to prevent the ruin that threatened them. To this purpoſe a convention was called, and we ſhall ſoon ſee what kind of convention it was. Anthony, King of Navarre, after having left in Bearn his ſon, yet an infant, under the conduct of the Queen his wife, as in an aſylum, at a diſtance from that conflagration, which they ſaw ready to be lighted up, in France, repaired to Vendome, with the Prince of Condé, already returned from his embaſſy: the Admiral, Dandelot, and the Cardinal of Chatillon, his brothers, Charles Compte de la Rochefoucault, Francis Vidame de Chartres, Antony Prince of Portien, all relations or common friends, aſſembled alſo, with ſeveral other noblemen attached for many years to the houſes of Montmorency and Bourbon. The Conſtable, who, altho to all appearance wholly engaged in the delights of private life, ſecretly ſet in motion all the ſprings of this enterprize, had ſent to this aſſembly at Ardres, his ancient and confidential Secretary, with inſtructions concerning the affairs to be there agitated. They took into conſideration the part which it was neceſſary to act in the preſent conjuncture of affairs. All agreed in the ſame end, but opinions as uſual, were divided concerning the means. All equally felt the atrocious affronts committed againſt the Princes of the blood, for the Guiſes, had not only taken the firſt places in the government, but the ſmall number of dignities which had remained to them. They ſaw evidently that the deſign was nothing leſs, than to oppreſs theſe Princes and their partizans. All perceived the neceſſity

of preventing ſo preſſing a danger, without waiting for the laſt extremity. But they were not equally agreed concerning the meaſures proper to ward it off.

No. 18.

L'un et l'autre parti cruel également,
Ainſi que dans le crime, eſt dans l'aveuglement.

IN the aſſembly, convention, caucus, or conſpiracy, at Ardres, call it by which name you will, the prince de Condé, the Vidâme de Chartres, Dandelot and others, of a character more irritable and violent, were of opinion, that without leaving to the Guiſes the time to augment their credit and their forces, they ſhould fly to arms as the remedy the moſt expeditious and the moſt efficacious.

"In vain," ſaid they, "ſhall we wait for the King, of his own motion, to determine, to reſtore us the rank which is our right. This Prince, incapable of deciding for himſelf, will never come out of that lethargy, in which he has been ſtupified from his infancy. Governed by his mother and the Guiſes, he will never dare to redemand the power which he has ſo blindly abandoned to them. How can the juſt complaints of the Princes of the blood, and the nobles, the beſt affectioned to the welfare of the ſtate, ever reach the

the ear of a monarch, who, even in the ſervice of his perſon, is conſtantly ſurrounded with ſpies, ſtationed by his miniſters, and ſold to their tyranny? What dependance can we have, on the reſolutions of a Prince, to whom they will repreſent our requiſitions under the blackeſt colours, and the odious appellations of revolts, conſpiracies, and plots? Can we hope that the Queen mother and the Guiſes will diſmiſs themſelves, in favor of their enemies and rivals, from a part of that power which has coſt them ſo much labor and ſo many artifices? This expectation would be more chimerical than the former. Men do not weakly abandon an authority, which they have once uſurped with, ſo much boldneſs. Whoever arrives, by ſlow and ſecret intrigues, to unlawful power, enjoys it haughtily, and preſerves it at all hazards. The power and authority of the laws, may impoſe on private perſons; but they give way to force, which alone decides the rights and intereſts of Princes. So much reſerve and timidity on our part, will only ſerve to augment the confidence and temerity of our enemies. To begin by complaining, would be to ſound an alarm before an attack, and to advertiſe our competitors to put themſelves on their guard. The promptitude of execution, alone decides the ſucceſs of great enterprizes. Sloth and irreſolution, debaſes the courage, enervates the forces, and loſes the opportunity which flies ſo rapidly away. Let us haſten then to take arms, and overwhelm our enemies before they have time to collect themſelves; and let us not ruin our own hopes and projects, by cowardly precautions, and unſeaſonable delays."

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The King of Navarre, the Admiral, the Prince of Portien and the Secretary of the Conſtable, in the name of his maſter, rejected with horror, counſels ſo extreme, and propoſed remedies leſs violent. "Whatever proteſtations we may make," they replied, "that we take arms only to deliver the King from the tyranny of ſtrangers, and that we aſpire not to his authority, our conduct will be ill interpreted. All good Frenchmen, religiouſly attached to the perſon of the King, will ſee our enterprize with indignation. Is it permited to ſubjects to lay violence or conſtraint on their ſovereign, under any pretext or for any reaſon whatever? Do the laws of the kingdom authorize us, to force our maſter, to conſide to us, any portion of his authority? He has paſſed his fourteenth year, and ought no longer to be in tutelage. Thus our pretenſions, formed only on decency, propriety and ſimple equity, had better be urged with delicacy and moderation, than by ways ſo violent as thoſe of arms. By employing the means which prudence and addreſs may ſuggeſt to us, let us not deſpair of gaining on the inclinations of the Queen mother. As ſoon as ſhe can ſee her ſafety in our party, we ſhall ſee the power of the Guiſes diſſolve, and we ſhall open to ourſelves a way, equally honorable and eaſy to the execution of our deſigns. The Princes of Lorrain have had, hitherto, no obſtacle in their way; perhaps when they ſee a formidable oppoſition ariſing, they will determine to cede to us a part in the government. We will then avail ourſelves of opportunities, to ſecure us againſt the dangers which threaten us, and the outrages with which they overbear us. Is it not better to be

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ſatisfied with reaſonable conditions, than to expoſe all to the inconſtancy of fortune, and the hazardous deciſion of arms? Have we in France, forces to oppoſe to our lawful ſovereign? What ſuccour can we expect from foreign powers, who have lately renewed their alliances with the King? To take arms at preſent, would be to precipitate the houſe of Bourbon into the deepeſt misfortunes, rather than to open to us, an honorable reception into the government." This laſt ſentiment prevailed, and it was reſolved that the King of Navarre, as the chief of the houſe, and the firſt Prince of the blood, ſhould repair to Court, and negotiate with the Queen mother, and endeavor to obtain ſome part in the adminiſtration of government, for himſelf, and for his brothers and partiſans, the governments and dignities of which they had been deprived, or others equivalent.

It was foreſeen, however, that the ſucceſs would not be happy. The King of Navarre, intimidated by the difficulty of the enterprize, acted with a delicacy, irreſolution and complaiſance, dictated by that ſoftneſs and moderation which formed the eſſence of his character. The Guiſes, on the contrary, full of that confidence, which proſperity inſpires, prepared to repell with vigor the attempt that was made againſt them. In concert with the Queen, they repeated inceſſantly to the young Monarch, that his predeceſſors had always mortified the Princes of the blood, as enemies to the reigning branch, againſt which they never ceaſed to operate, ſometimes by ſecret cabals, and ſometimes by open force. That in the preſent circumſtances, the King of Navarre

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and the Prince de Condé, ſeeing themſelves ſo near the throne, under a King of a tender complexion, who had no children, and whoſe brothers were under age, ſought only to deprive him of the ſupport of his mother, and his neareſt relations, that they might govern him at pleaſure, and hold him in dependance, as the Maires of the Palace had formerly held the Clovis's, the Chilperics, and other Princes incapable of reigning. That perhaps there was no crime at which they would heſitate, even to employing poiſon, or the ſword, to open a paſſage for themſelves to the throne. The King, naturally timid and ſuſpicious, pre-occupied by theſe artificial accuſations, which were coloured with ſome appearance of probability, ſaw with an evil eye, the King of Navarre, and received him coldly. In the audiences which he granted him, always in the preſence of the Duke and the Cardinal, who never quitted him a moment, he gave him none but dry anſwers; alledging that he was of age; that he was not reſponſible to any man for his actions; that he was ſatisfied with the good ſervices of thoſe who governed under him; and rejected conſtantly all the requeſts and demands of the Princes of the blood, as irregular, unreaſonable, and made with ill deſigns.

The efforts of the King of Navarre had no better ſucceſs with the Queen-mother. She knew that ſhe could not depend upon the attachment which the Princes of the blood profeſſed to her; that as ſoon as they ſhould obtain what they ſolicited, they would exclude her from the government, and force her perhaps to quit the Court. She judged moreover, that it would be imprudent

dent to abandon the party the moſt powerful and the beſt eſtabliſhed, to attach herſelf to the Princes of the blood, who had no certain ſupport. She determined therefore to purſue her firſt plan: but as ſhe wiſhed to prevent the horrors of a civil war, ſhe propoſed to herſelf, not entirely to take away all hopes from the Princes, but to make uſe of artifice and diſſimulation, to divert the King of Navarre, whoſe docility ſhe knew, from the deſigns which he had formed, and to wait, from time and conjunctures, ſome expedient, advantageous to the welfare of the ſtate. In conſequence, ſhe received him with great demonſtrations of friendſhip, and amuſed him with the faireſt hopes. In the courſe of converſations which they had together, ſhe inſinuated, that the paſſions of the King were eaſily irritable; that he muſt not be vexed with demands and complaints out of ſeaſon; that it was neceſſary to wait for opportunities more favorable; that the King having paſſed his fourteenth year, might govern by himſelf, and without taking counſel of any one; that when he ſhould find an opportunity to manifeſt his benevolence for the Princes of Bourbon, he would fulfil all that was required of him, by the relations of blood, and would prove to all the world the eſteem and conſideration, which he entertained of their merit and fidelity: that to change, all at once, in the beginning of a reign, the order eſtabliſhed in the government, would be to give the King among his own ſubjects, the reputation of an inconſtant Prince, without prudence and without firmneſs: that if any employment worthy of them ſhould be vacant, he would have a regard

gard to the juſtice of their pretenſions: that in her own particular, ſhe offered herſelf voluntarily to manage their intereſts with her ſon, to engage him to grant them, as ſoon as ſhould be poſſible, the ſatisfaction they deſired: that it was not decent that the King of Navarre, who had always evinced his wiſdom and moderation, ſhould now ſuffer himſelf to be guided by counſels, and drawn into raſh meaſures which were neither conſiſtent with his age nor character; but by waiting with patience, for what depended wholly on the benevolence and affection of the King, he ought to teach others, how to merit in their due ſeaſons, the favor and beneficence of his Majeſty. The Queen having ſounded him, at ſeveral times, by ſuch general diſcourſes, and perceiving that he began to waver, compleatly gained him at length, by ſaying that they muſt immediately ſend into Spain, Elizabeth, the ſiſter of the King, who muſt be attended by ſome Prince, diſtinguiſhed by his reputation and by his rank; that ſhe had caſt her eyes on him, as the perſonage the moſt proper to ſupport the honor of the nation, by the ſplendor of his virtues, and of the Majeſty Royal, with which he was adorned; that beſides the ſatisfaction which the King her ſon would have in it, he would find a great advantage for his private pretenſions, by the facility which he would have, of conciliating the affections of the Catholic King, and at the ſame time of treating in perſon of the reſtitution, or of the change of Navarre. Finally, ſhe promiſed him to employ all her credit, and all the power of the King her ſon, to inſure the ſucceſs of this negotiation.

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The King of Navarre, in examining the diſpoſitions of the Court, had obſerved that all thoſe who were employed by the government, ſatisfied with the preſent ſituation of affairs, troubled themſelves very little about the pretenſions of the Princes of the blood—and that thoſe who had an intereſt to deſire his grandeur, and that of his brother, either intimidated by the power of their enemies, or diſconcerted by his extreme delays, deſpaired equally of the ſucceſs of his enterprize. He returned therefore eaſily to his firſt deſign of recovering his ſtates, and judged that he ought not to let ſlip an opportunity ſo favourable for renewing the negotiations of accommodation with the crown of Spain, and of quitting decently a court, where he could no longer remain with honor. He accepted chearfully the commiſſion of conducting the young Queen into Spain. The Queen-mother continued to delude him with magnificent hopes, and in ſpight of the diſcontent of the other Princes of his party, he preſſed his departure with as much ardor, as even his enemies could have deſired. He ſuffered himſelf to be duped in Spain with the ſame facility. The Queen-mother had already informed Philip the ſecond, of all this manœuvre. This Monarch who deſired, equally with her, to ſee humiliated and excluded from the government, the King of Navarre, ſo ardent to make good his pretenſions to ſome part of his dominions, inſtructed the duke of Alva, and the other grandees who were to receive the Queen his conſort, not to reject the propoſitions of this Prince, but to lead him on and amuſe him, by receiving them ſeriouſly, and offering to make report of them to his Catholic Majeſty, and the council of Spain, without whoſe advice they could not determine

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them in this manner. "In vain, have we hitherto employed the means of delicacy and moderation. It is not hereafter but by the moſt vigorous efforts that we can prevent the ruin of the royal family, and of all thoſe who have not been able to reſolve to cringe ſervilely under the tyranny of the Queen-mother and the Guiſes. It is no longer ſeaſonable to diſſemble outrages of which no man can be ignorant and which we have ſuffered with too much patience. We are baniſhed from court, and the government of Picardy, and the office of grand-maſter is taken from us. Finances, offices, dignities, are the prey of foreigners and perſons unknown, who hold the King in captivity. The truth never reaches the throne. The beſt part of the nation is oppreſſed to elevate traitors, who fatten on the blood of the people, and the treaſures of the ſtate. It is on violence that the tyranny of theſe ſtrangers, is founded, who perſecute with ſo much ferocity the royal blood: let us employ violence alſo to deſtroy this tyranny. It will not be the firſt time that the Princes of the blood, ſhall have taken arms to maintain their rights. Peter, Duke of Brittany, Robert, Earl of Dreux, and ſeveral other Lords oppoſed, during the minority of Saint Louis, the Queen Blanche his mother, who had ſeized on the government. Philip, Earl of Valois, employed all his forces, to exclude from the regency, thoſe who pretended to uſurp it. Under Charles the VIIIth, Louis, Duke of Orleans, took arms to cauſe himſelf to be elected regent, inſtead of Ann, Ducheſs of Bourbon, who, in quality of eldeſt ſiſter of the young King, had taken into her hands the reins of the ſtate. Let us imitate our wiſe anceſtors, let us follow ſuch ſtriking examples. We find ourſelves in the

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ſame caſe: it is therefore our duty to employ the ſame means to ſave the nation. Let not the apparent pleaſure of the King reſtrain us. This Prince, buried in a lethargic dream, and in his own imbecility, perceives not the deplorable ſlavery to which they have reduced him. He waits, from the Princes of the blood, the aſſiſtance, which is expected from an enlightened and ſkilful phyſician, by patients who feel not their diſtempers and know not their danger. The duties of our birth, and the unanimous wiſhes of the nation, authorize us to break the fetters with which this Prince is loaded, and to redreſs the evil before it arrives at its laſt extremity. A vigorous reſolution muſt be taken without delay. Let us haſten to be beforehand with our enemies, if we wiſh to ſurmount a thouſand obſtacles, which will arreſt us, if we waſte the time in deliberation, and which a ſudden execution alone can overcome, ſloth and timidity will only aggravate upon our necks the weight of a yoke equally ſhameful and fatal. Can we heſitate when our tranquility, our honor and our lives have no other reſource, than in the valor of our arms?"

This diſcourſe pronounced with a military tone, had already agitated minds before diſpoſed to take arms, both from attachment to his houſe, and their private intereſts. But the Admiral, Coligni, who weighed more maturely all the conſequences of ſuch an enterprize, alone ventured to oppoſe the opinion of the Prince, by adviſing to employ in the execution of his deſign, a mean more proper to enſure the ſucceſs of it. "It would be," ſaid Coligni, "too deſperate a reſolution to expoſe ſo openly to the hazards of war, the fortunes of the houſe of Bourbon, and of ſo great a number of perſons allied to their blood,

blood, or attached to their intereſts. We are not ſupported by any forces at home, or alliances abroad. We have no fortified places, and are without troops, and without money. In the impoſſibility to act with open force, let us ſubſtitute policy in the ſtead of force. Let us endeavor, without diſcovering ourſelves, to employ other arms, to execute for us, what we are not in a condition to undertake for ourſelves. The kingdom is filled with a multitude of people, who have embraced the doctrine lately introduced by Calvin. The ſeverity of the reſearches made for them, and the rigour of their puniſhments, reduce them to deſpair, and to the deſire as well as neceſſity of braving every danger to reſcue themſelves from a deſtiny ſo horrible. They all know, that the duke of Guiſe, and eſpecially the Cardinal of Lorrain, are the principal authors of the perſecution; that this laſt purſues ardently their deſtruction, in the Parliaments and in the King's councils, and never ceaſes to rail at their doctrines, in his public harrangues and private converſations. If the diſcontents of this multitude have not blazed out, it has been merely for want of a leader capable of guiding it, and of animating it, by his example. If they ſhould be ſtimulated ever ſo little, they will blindly confront the greateſt dangers, in the hope of delivering themſelves from the misfortunes which threaten them. Let us avail ourſelves of this reſource; let us encourage this multitude, already diſpoſed to commotions; let us give a form to their deſigns; let us arm their hatred againſt the Guiſes; let us put them in a condition to attack theſe ſtrangers, in good order and with advantage. Our deſigns, in this way, will execute themſelves, without expoſing or committing us, without our appearing

appearing to have any part in them. In augmenting our forces with all thoſe of the Calviniſts, we ſhall ſupport ourſelves by the protection of the Proteſtant Princes of Germany, and of Elizabeth Queen of England, who patronize openly the new religion. Our cauſe will become better and our pretext more plauſible. We will reject upon the Proteſtants the boldneſs of their enterprize, and we ſhall convince the whole world, that it is neither intereſt nor ambition, but ſimply the difference in religion which has excited us to arms."

It ſhould be remembered here, that Davila was a Catholic, and Coligni a Proteſtant. The latter, one of the greateſt, altho the moſt unfortunate men of his age, was as ſincere in religion, as pure in morals, and as honourable in the whole conduct of his life, as any one of his contemporaries. That he was deſirous of engaging the Bourbons and Montmorencies to favor the Calviniſts and liberty of conſcience, is probable: but he is repreſented by the beſt French Hiſtorians, as ſo much attached to the King, as to have been even ſuſpected by his party. The harrangue which Davila puts into his mouth, is too much like a mere politician, and too little like a philoſopher or a chriſtian, to be conſiſtent with his character.

No.

No. 19.

Mais l'un et l'autre Guiſe ont eu moins de ſcrupule.
Ces chefs ambitieux d'un peuple trop credule,
Couvrant leurs intérêts de l'intérêt des cieux,
Ont conduit dans le piége un peuple furieux.

THE eloquence and authority of Coligni, prevailed with the others to embrace the party of the Calviniſts, to whoſe doctrines, were ſecretly devoted ſeveral of the noblemen then preſent in the aſſembly. The common voice was in favor of this advice, which affording hopes, as near accompliſhment, and beeter founded, diverted them from taking arms of a ſudden, and concealed for ſometime, the view of dangers, to which the moſt determined do not expoſe themſelves, but in the laſt extremity.

After Martin Luther had introduced into Germany, the liberty of thinking in matters of religion, and erected the ſtandard of reformation; John Calvin, a native of Noyon, in Picardy, of a vaſt genius, ſingular eloquence, various erudition, and poliſhed taſte, embraced the cauſe of reformation. In the books which he publiſhed, and in the diſcourſes which he held, in the ſeveral cities of France, he propoſed one hundred and twenty eight articles, in oppoſition to the Creed of the Roman Catholic Church. Theſe opinions were ſoon embraced with ardor and maintained with obſtinacy, by a great number of perſons of all conditions. The aſylum and the centre of this new ſect, was Geneva, a city ſituated on the lake anciently called Lamanus, on the frontiers of Savoy, which had ſhaken off the yoke of its Biſhops and the Dukes of Savoy, and erected itſelf

ſelf into a republic, under the title of a free city, for the ſake of liberty of conſcience. From this city proceeded printed books, and men diſtinguiſhed for their wit and eloquence, who ſpreading themſelves in the neighbouring provinces, there ſowed in ſecret the ſeeds of their doctrine. Almoſt all the cities and provinces of France began to be enlightened by it. It began to introduce itſelf into the kingdom, under Francis Iſt. in oppoſition to all the vigorous reſolutions which he took to ſuppreſs it. Henry IId. ordained, with inexorable ſeverity, the puniſhment of death againſt all who ſhould be convicted of Calviniſm. The Cardinal of Lorrain, was the high prieſt, and the proud tyrant, who counſelled and ſtimulated the King, to thoſe cruelties and perſecutions, which, by the ſhedding the blood of all the advocates of civil liberty, might have wholly ſuppreſſed it, if the unexpected death of Henry IId. which the Calviniſts regarded as a miracle wrought in their favor, had not occaſioned ſome relaxation under Francis IId. The Duke of Guiſe and the Cardinal of Lorrain, perſiſted in their bloody perſecuting reſolutions: but they did not find in the Parliament, nor in the other magiſtrates, the ſame promptitude to execute the orders which they gave in the name of the King.

Theodore Beza, a diſciple of Calvin, celebrated for his eloquence and erudition, had already converted ſeveral perſons of both ſexes, and of the firſt nobility of the kingdom: and it was no longer in the ſtables and cellars that the Calviniſts held their aſſemblies, and preached their ſermons, but in the houſes of gentlemen, and in the palaces of the great. The people called them Huguenots, or Aignoſſen Confederates. The Admiral Coligni and ſeveral other noblemen, had indeed embraced the

the new doctrine as it was called: but the Calviniſts, reſtrained by the fear of puniſhment, ſtill held their aſſemblies in ſecret, and the great dared not declare openly for them.

The Bourbons, finding France in a condition ſo favorable to their preſent intereſts, embraced greedily the propoſition of Coligni, and they deputed Dandelot and the Vidâme de Chartres to negotiate this affair with the Calviniſts. Theſe able agents, who had both embraced Calviniſm, eaſily found a multitude of perſons diſpoſed to communicate to others the project in contemplation, and to make the neceſſary preparations for its execution. The Calviniſts agitated without interruption by the terror of dangers and puniſhments, ſerved them with ſo much promptitude and concert, that they placed things in a train, in a ſhort time to ſucceed.

The firſt meaſure adviſed by Dandelot and the Vidâme de Chartres, was that a large number of thoſe who profeſſed the Proteſtant religion, ſhould aſſemble and preſent themſelves without arms at court, to petition the King for liberty of conſcience, the public exerciſe of their religion, and permiſſion to have temples for that purpoſe. Davila, the Catholic and Italian, has recorded in this place, all the party exaggerations of his miſtreſs and the Guiſes. He ſays, that if the petition of the Proteſtants was ſeverely and haughtily rejected, as it indubitably would be, they were to march immediately troops aſſembled ſecretly from all the Provinces; that theſe ſhould ſuddenly appear under different leaders who ſhould be appointed for them, that finding the King unguarded

guarded and the court without defence, they were to maſſacre the duke of Guiſe and the Cardinal of Lorrain, with all their creatures; and oblige the King to declare, regent and lieutenant-general of the kingdom, the Prince of Condé, who ſhould grant them a ceſſation of puniſhment and liberty of conſcience. It was believed at the time and publiſhed, that the chiefs of the conſpiracy, had given ſecret orders, if every thing ſucceeded to their wiſhes, to put to the ſword the Queen-mother, the King himſelf, and his brothers, that the crown in this way might deſcend to the Princes of Bourbon. But Davila himſelf acquits them of this attrocious accuſation, by adding, that none of the accomplices having avowed this horrible deſign, neither when on the rack, nor of their own accord, but all on the contrary having formally denied it, I cannot relate it as a fact. We know very well that fame, aided by the vain terrors of the people, and the malignity of the great, takes a pleaſure in magnifying objects to infinity.

The plan being thus concerted among the conſpirators, they divided the provinces and employments, among the principal Calviniſts, that the execution might be attended with as much order and ſecrecy as poſſible. Barri, de la Renaudie aſſumed the principal part, and put himſelf at the head of the enterprize. This was a perſon celebrated for his travels and adventures. His wit and courage had acquired him credit among the Huguenots. He wanted neither ſpirit to undertake nor vivacity to execute. The diſarrangements of his fortune had reduced him to the alternative

ternative of procuring himſelf a better condition by ſome daring attempt, or of terminating his misfortunes by a ſudden death. Although iſſued from the firſt nobility of Perigord, he had wandered long in different countries, and had at length taken refuge in Geneva, where by his ſubtilty he had acquired ſome conſideration. Such was the birth and character of the principal leader of the conſpiracy, who was ſoon followed by a great number of aſſociates, ſome excited by a zeal for religion, others by the attractions of novelty, and others ſimply by that natural inquietude, which never permits the French to languiſh in idleneſs.

La Renaudie confided to the chiefs among them, the care of aſſembling their partizans and conducting them to the rendezvous. The intelligence with which he diſtributed provinces, introduced a kind of order into this confuſion. Caſtelneau had the department of Gaſcony, Mazers that of Bearn, Dumeſnil that of Limoſin, Mirabeau that of Saintonge, Coueville, Picardy; Mourans, Provence; Maligni, Champaine; Saint-Marie, Normandy; and Montejean, Brittany: all famous for courage, diſtinguiſhed by their nobility, and conſidered in their cities and cantons, as heads of the party. Theſe factionaries, after having aſſembled at Nantes, a city of Brittany, ſome under the pretext of a lawſuit, and others under that of a marriage, repaired with great diligence to the poſts which were aſſigned them. In a few days, and with admirable ſecrecy, they there gained an infinite number of perſons of all conditions, ready to ſacrifice their lives for an enterprize, which their preachers aſſured them

tended

tended to the advantage and tranquility of the ſtate.

The Prince of Condé, who ſecretly lighted up this conflagration, advanced by moderate days journeys to court. He wiſhed to be witneſs of the event, and to take ſuddenly, according to circumſtances, the part which ſhould appear to him the moſt advantageous. The Admiral, always circumſpect, feigned to remain neuter. He retired to his eſtate at Chatillon, under the pretext of enjoying the ſweets of private life, without meddling with affairs of the public, or of government; but in reality it was as much to aid the conſpiracy, by his councils and information, as to avoid the accidents which might defeat an enterprize which he judged raſh and dangerous. The conſpirators, who were not agitated with ſimilar anxieties, but full of the moſt flattering hopes, had begun their march in ſecrecy, carrying their arms concealed under their cloaths. They advanced ſeparately by different roads, and in the order which had been marked out by their chiefs, towards Blois, where the court reſided at that time. This city was open on all ſides, and without fortifications, and the conſpirators were to meet in its ſuburbs, on the fifteenth day of March, 1560.

But whatever might be the activity of their proceedings and the ſecrecy of their councils, they could not eſcape the penetration of the Guiſes. The favors, penſions and employments they confered, and their great reputation, had attached to them ſo many creatures in the different provinces of the kingdom, that they were punctually informed of all the movements of the conſpirators. It was indeed impoſſible that the

march

march of ſo numerous a multitude could remain unknown, when conſpiracies whoſe ſecrets are confined to a ſmall number of perſons, of the moſt conſummate diſcretion and fidelity, are almoſt always diſcovered before their execution. Whether the ſecret was diſcovered by La Renaudie, or Avenelles, or diſcovered by the ſpies employed by the miniſtry, even in the houſes of the principal conſpirators, or whether information of it came from Germany; as ſoon as the Guiſes had received it, they deliberated on the means of defeating it.

The Cardinal of Lorrain, who was no ſoldier, adviſed to aſſemble the nobility of the neareſt provinces, to draw from the neighbouring cities all the garriſons to form a body of troops, and to ſend orders to all the commanders and governors to take the field, and put to the ſword, all the men whom they ſhould find in arms. He preſumed that the conſpirators, perceiving themſelves to be diſcovered, and informed of the meaſures taken againſt them, and which fame would not fail to exaggerate, would diſſipate of themſelves. The duke of Guiſe, more familiar with danger, and deſpiſing the tranſports of a multitude, without diſcipline or order, regarded the advice of the Cardinal, as more proper to palliate the diſtemper, than to cure it; adding that ſince it was ſo pernicious, and had inſinuated itſelf into the heart of the kingdom, it was uſeleſs to temporize, and give it opportunity to break out with more violence. He thought it therefore, more prudent to diſſemble, and affect ignorance of the enterprize, to draw in the conſpirators, and give them time to diſcover themſelves; that in ſuch a caſe, their defeat and puniſhment would

would deliver France from a fatal contagion, which, as it diſcovered itſelf by ſymptoms ſo terrible, demanded violent remedies, and not ſimple lenitives. He added, that in puniſhing ſeparately only a part of the conſpirators, they ſhould furniſh matter to the ill intentioned, to calumniate the authors of this ſeverity; that the people, little accuſtomed to ſuch inſurrections, would regard this as a chimera, and as a fable, invented by the miniſtry to cruſh their enemies, and eſtabliſh their own power and authority: whereas, by overwhelming all the conſpirators at once, when upon the point of execution, they ſhould diſſipate all falſe accuſations, and juſtify in the ſight of all the world, the rectitude and the ſincerity of the intentions of thoſe who were at the head of affairs.

Catharine agreed with the duke. No extraordinary preparation was made, which could excite a ſuſpicion that the conſpiracy was known. They only removed the King and the court to *Amboiſe* ten leagues from *Blois*. This caſtle, ſituated on the Loire, and in the midſt of foreſts which fortify it, naturally, appeared to be a ſafer aſylum: as it was eaſy to place in ſecurity the King and the two Queens, in the caſtle, while a ſmall number of troops ſhould defend the entrance of the village, which was of difficult acceſs.

Eagle eyed, high ſoul'd ambition, ſeldom miſſes its opportunity. The Guiſes reſolved to profit of a conjuncture ſo advantageous to cement and increaſe their power, by cauſing the fall of their rivals to promote their own elevation, as poiſons are ſometimes, by uncommon ſkill converted into remedies. They entered the King's apartments, without the knowledge of the Queen, affecting with

with terror to exaggerate the danger; they declared all was reported to be plotted againſt the government, his moſt faithful ſubjects, and his royal perſon. They remonſtrated to him, that the danger was imminent, that the conſpirators were already at the gates of Amboiſe, with forces much more formidable and numerous than had been ſuſpected. Finally they demanded orders, the promptitude and energy of which ſhould be proportioned to the grandeur and proximity of the danger. The King, naturally timid as well as weak, and at this moment forcibly ſtricken with the greatneſs of the danger which threatened him, ordered the Queen, and all his miniſters to be called, to conſult on the means proper to repreſs the impetuoſity of ſo violent a rebellion. Nothing was ſeen on all ſides but ſubjects of terror: Every meaſure that was propoſed appeared hazardous. The Cardinal of Lorrain exhauſted all his artifices and all his eloquence to exaggerate the danger and increaſe the irreſolution. The king incapable of deciding, and of ſuſtaining the weight of government in circumſtances ſo critical, nominated, of his own mere motion, the Duke of Guiſe, his Lieutenant General, with full and compleat authority. He added, that not feeling himſelf adequate to act, he abandoned to the prudence and valor of the Duke, the conduct of his kingdom, and the care of appeaſing the troubles which agitated it.

Catharine, although ſhe felt an indignation at this bold attempt, could not oppoſe it, without an open rupture with the Guiſes, in a moment when the ſafety of the State depended on their union. She perceived the occaſion there was for a Chief,

a Chief, whoſe experience and reputation might take place of the imbecility and irreſolution of the king, as likely to enervate the courage of his own troops, as to increaſe the inſolence of his enemies. Monarchs the moſt abſolute, and even republics the moſt jealous of their liberty, had often conferred the ſupreme authority on a ſingle man, when the greatneſs of dangers had appeared to require a reſource ſo extraordinary. Beſides theſe views, which regarded the preſervation of her ſon and his States, ſhe foreſaw the carnage, which could not fail to be made, and that the hatred of the Princes of the blood, and the enmity of the people would fall neceſſarily on the Duke of Guiſe commanding alone, with an abſolute authority.

The integrity of the Chancellor Olivier, was ſtill an obſtacle; little ſatisfied that an authority ſo unlimited ſhould be granted to a ſubject, he appeared to ſuſpend his judgment. His credit and firmneſs might have prolonged, if not defeated the meaſure. The Queen-mother however determined him, by alledging, that as ſoon as the ſtorm ſhould be diſſipated, they might reſtrain by new edicts and freſh declarations the exceſſive power to be given to the Duke, and confine him within the bounds of duty and reaſon; that it was the intereſt of all, that the effuſion of blood ſhould be done by the ſole orders of the Duke, and that neither the King, his relations, or miniſters, ſhould appear to dip their hands in it. The Chancellor perſuaded by theſe reflections, ſealed the commiſſion, giving to the Duke of Guiſe the title and authority of Lieutenant General of the King, in all the provinces and territories of his obedience, with abſolute power, as well in civil as military affairs.

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The Duke as ſoon as he had obtained the dignity and authority which he had always deſired, turned his attention to ſuppreſs the conſpiracy. He made able and ſoldierlike arrangements for defending the caſtle and village of Amboiſe, and ſent out parties of cavalry as well as infantry to attack the inſurgents. A detail of their ſkirmiſhes would be as little intereſting, as it would be to the purpoſe we have in view. La Renaudie fought with a bravery which well became the Proteſtant cauſe, and fell with Pardaillan, his antagoniſt, in the combat—though his ſoldiers collected in haſte, could not ſtand againſt veteran troops. A Capt. Ligniers, one of the conſpirators, terrified at the greatneſs of the danger, in the moment of execution, or ſtricken with remorſe, or deſirous of making his court, abandoned his accomplices, and galloped by another road to Amboiſe. He detailed to the King and Queen, the quality and number of the conſpirators, the names of their chiefs, and the roads by which they were approaching. The Prince de Condé was immediately put under guard, by order of the king, to hinder him in any manner from favoring the enterprize of the inſurgents, as he promiſed them. The conſpirators in fine were defeated and diſperſed. Some periſhed in the flames of the houſes to which they fled—others were hanged upon the trees in the neighbourhood, or on the battlements of the caſtle. Multitudes were maſſacred in the neighbourhood of Amboiſe; the Loire was covered with dead bodies—the blood run in ſtreams in the ſtreet—and the public places were filled with bodies hanging on gallowſſes. The puniſhment of theſe miſerable men, tormented by the ſoldiers, and

butchered by executioners—ſeverities, which the Guiſes, thought neceſſary, became the ſource of carnage, and of rivers of blood, which deluged France for many years in a moſt tragical and deplorable manner.

No. 20.

Faible enfant, qui de Guiſe adorait les caprices,
Et dont on ignorait les vértus et les vices.

ALTHOUGH the inſurgents were diſperſed, and their leaders executed, the Bourbons and the other grandees of their party, the ſecret authors of the conſpiracy, ſtill lived. The council of the King, in examining into the motives of the late troubles, agreed without difficulty, that they were the work of the Princes of the blood; and that, to maintain the authority of the King and the Miniſtry, the only ſure means would be to rid themſelves of the chiefs and authors of the conſpiracy, as perturbators of the public repoſe, as favorers of Hereſy, and as rebels, who attempting the perſon of their ſovereign, had violated the fundamental laws of the monarchy. But the Princes of the blood, were too nearly on a level with the King; they had too much influence with the people; they had too much power in the ſtate. The King indeed was furious, the Queen-mother was anxious, the Guiſes afraid of looſing their power: But the Conſtable Montmorenci, the King of Navarre, and the Prince

Prince de Condé, all ſuppoſed to be at the bottom of the evil, had ſo much conſequence in the world, that nothing but diſſimulaiton and irreſolution prevailed in the cabinet.

The Council, after diſguiſing under a veil of deep diſſimulation, its real deſign, reſolved at length, to convoke the aſſembly of *the States General, in whom reſides the whole authority of the Kingdom.* Two reaſons determined them: firſt, That to execute the important reſolution of the King againſt the Princes of his blood, it would be uſeful to have it confirmed, by the unanimous, or at leaſt the apparent conſent of the nation. The ſecond reaſon was, that by declaring that they meant to deliberate in this aſſembly on the meaſures neceſſary to compoſe the preſent troubles, to regulate the affairs of religion, and to adjuſt the adminiſtration of the ſtate, for the future, the King would have a plauſible pretext, to ſummon about his perſon, all the Princes of the blood, and all the officers of the crown, without giving them umbrage; and that they would be inexcuſable not to come, ſince they were promiſed, that the deliberations ſhould be concerning a reformation of government, which they appeared ſo much to deſire. *Kings*, ſays Davila, *never ſee with pleaſure, or indeed voluntarily, theſe aſſemblies of the States General, where their authority ſeems to be eclipſed, by the ſovereign power of the nation, whoſe deputies repreſent the whole body.*

Upon this paſſage, the French writers cry out, "It is a ſtranger who ſpeaks, ill informed of the fundamental conſtitution of our monarchy." "This Italian imagines that the royal authority was ſuſpended, during the ſeſſion of the States General. But it was the royal authority which called

called them together: without it, they could not have aſſembled; and the ſame authority had a right to diſmiſs them at its preaſure: it is therefore evident that their power was always ſubordinate to that of the Monarch." But this conſequence does not follow. The royal authority in England, has the power of convoking, proroguing and diſſolving Parliament: yet Parliament is not ſubordinate to the royal authority, but ſuperior to it; as the whole is ſuperior to a third part. The ſovereignty is in Parliament, or the legiſlative power; not in the King, or the Executive. So the ſovereignty might be in the States General, comprehending the King. If there are "twenty examples of the States General convening and ſeparating, by the ſimple orders of the King;" if "the Dauphin, Charles VII, during the detention of King John his father, convoked ſeveral times the States General, and diſmiſſed them when he judged proper," it will not follow from all this, that the States were not a part of the ſovereignty: nor will it follow that they had no authority but to adviſe and remonſtrate. "If the ſentiments of the Italian author were true," add theſe writers, "it would follow that the authority of Parliaments and courts or companies, whoſe power is nothing but an emanation from the royal authority, would be ſuſpended, during the ſeſſion of the States General; a pretenſion abſolutely contrary to the uſages and maxims of the kingdom." But how does it appear, that the power of the Parliaments and courts or companies, were emanations of the royal authority? There is more probability that they were originally committees of the States General, and in that caſe their power would not be

ſuſpended, unleſs it were expreſsly ſuſpended by a reſolution or order of the ſtates. But if theſe tribunals were only a part of the executive power, and conſtituted by the King, it would not follow from this conceſſion, that the States General were no part of the ſovereignty or legiſlative power. Is there one national act upon record, which acknowledges the King of France to be an unlimited ſovereign? If there is not, the opinion of Davila appears to be better founded, than that of his Critick. There was always a rivalry between the royal authority and that of the States, as there is now between the power of the King and that of the National Aſſembly, and as there ever was, and will be in every legiſlature or ſovereignty which conſiſts of two branches only. The proper remedy then would have been the ſame as it muſt be now, to new model the legiſlature, make it conſiſt of three equiponderant independent branches, and make the executive power one of them; in this way, and in no other, can an equilibrium be formed, the only antidote againſt rivalries. The rivalry between the Kings and States General in France, proceeded in the ſtruggle for ſuperiority, till the power of the former increaſing and that of the latter diminiſhing, the States General were laid aſide after 1614, and the crown on the head of Lewis XIVth, in fact, but not of right, became abſolute: in the ſame manner as the rivalry between the Popes and general councils proceeded, till the latter were diſcontinued and his Holineſs became infallible: In ſhort, every man, and every body of men, is and has a rival. When the ſtruggle is only between two, whether individuals or bodies, it continues till one is ſwallowed up, or annihilated,

ted, and the other becomes abſolute maſter. As all this is a neceſſary conſequence and effect of the émulation which nature has implanted in our boſoms, it is wonderful that mankind have ſo long been ignorant of the remedy, when a third party for an umpire, is one ſo eaſy and obvious.

Francis IId, in this year, 1560, iſſued a proclamation concerning the affairs of the nation, and declared that he had reſolved to aſſemble at Fontainbleau, all the Princes and the Notables of his kingdom, in order to take their advice concerning the urgent neceſſities of the ſtate. He granted to all his ſubjects full liberty to come there in perſon or by deputies, or to ſend memorials to lay open their grievances, with promiſe to give them a favorable hearing, and to grant all their requeſts as far as equity and reaſon would permit.

The real intention of the Guiſes at this time, was to take vengeance of their rivals: but to conceal this deſign under the moſt profound diſſimulation, until a favorable moment ſhould arrive, to carry it into execution. A ſeries of refinement in artifice, was practiſed to put off their guard, the Prince de Condé, the Conſtable de Montmorenci, the Admiral Coligni, and all the others of their party: at the ſame time that arrangements were made in all the Provinces, and troops were aſſembled about the court, under commanders who were in its confidence.

About this time died the Chancellor Olivier, deſtroyed, as was reported, by chagrin at the cruelties practiſed at Amboiſe, and was ſucceeded by Michel de L'Hôpital, who united to a profound erudition, a conſummate experience in buſineſs. To ſhow the univerſal prevalence of emulation and

and rivalry, of jealouſy and envy, not only between oppoſite parties, but among individuals of the ſame party, it is neceſſary to obſerve here, that De L'Hôpital, notwithſtanding his genius, ſo penetrating and ſo fruitful in reſources, was elevated, with great difficulty to this eminent dignity by the Queen-mother, in oppoſition to the Guiſes, who inſiſted long for Louis de Morvilliers. Catharine began to dread the too great elevation of the Guiſes, and wiſhed to confer this important office on a ſubject entirely devoted to her intereſts.

At the aſſembly of the Notables at Fontainbleau, were found the chiefs of both parties, excepting the Princes of Bourbon, one of whom, however, the King of Navarre, ſent his ſecretary La Sague. After the cuſtomary ſpeeches of the King, Queen, Chancellor, Duke of Guiſe and Cardinal de Lorrain, Coligni aroſe, approached the King, and preſented him a paper, ſaying that it was a petition of thoſe of the reformed religion, who had inſtructed him to preſent it to his Majeſty, founded on the faith of edicts by which he had permitted all his ſubjects to lay open their grievances. He added, that although it was not ſigned by any one, yet if his Majeſty ſhould order it, one hundred and fifty thouſand men were ready to ſubſcribe it. The petition demanded only liberty of conſcience, and to have churches for public worſhip in the cities. The Cardinal de Lorrain, with all that impetuoſity, which, the natural vehemence of his temper added to the ardor of his ſpiritual zeal and temporal ambition, inſpired, called it ſeditious, inſolent, raſh, and heretical: and added, that if to intimidate the youth of the King, Coligni had advanced that it would

would be ſigned by one hundred and fifty thouſand rebels, he would be reſponſible for a million of good citizens, ready to repreſs the impudence of the factions, and compel reſpect to the royal authority.

As to the differences of religion, thoſe who inclined to Calviniſm, propoſed to demand of the Pope, a free general council, where they might diſcuſs and decide by common conſent, the matters of controverſy: that if the Sovereign Pontiff ſhould refuſe to grant one, the King ought, after the example of ſome of his wiſe predeceſſors, to aſſemble a national council. But the Cardinal of Lorrain, anſwered that there was no occaſion for any other council than that which the Pope had already called at Trent, which had already reprehended and condemned the doctrines of the innovators, oppoſed to the Roman church.

As to the conſtitution and government of the ſtate, after an infinity of propoſitions and diſcuſſions, ſuggeſted by the variety of intereſts, Montlue or Marillac, by the ſecret order of the Queen, propoſed an Aſſembly of the States General: and the two parties, with one voice conſented. The Conſtable, the Admiral and their partizans, by the hope of obtaining a change in the miniſtry, the Queen-mother and the Guiſes, becauſe they hoped to deſtroy their rivals. An edict was accordingly paſſed at Fontainbleau, for holding the States General, and the ſecretaries of ſtate expedited letters patents to all the Provinces of the Kingdom, with orders to ſend, in the month of October, their deputies to Orleans, there to hold the States General.

La Sague took the road to Bearn, charged with letters and commiſſions for the King of Navarre,

Navarre, from the Conſtable, the Admiral and their adherents. At Etampes, he was arreſted and all his papers ſeized, and brought to court, by order of the Queen and the Guiſes. La Sague, interrogated on the rack, confeſſed, that the deſign of the Prince of Condé, to which the King of Navarre was privy and conſenting, was to march from Bearn, under pretext of repairing to court, and to make himſelf maſter in his courſe, of the principal cities of the kingdom, to take poſſeſſion of Paris by means of the Conſtable, and Marſhal Montmorencie his ſon, who had the government of it; to cauſe, in the next place to revolt, Picardy, by the intrigues of Senarpont and Bouchavannes; Brittanny, by thoſe of the duke D'Eſtampes, who, as governor had a powerful party there. He declared that the Prince was in courſe to come to court, at the head of all the forces of the Hugonots; oblige the States General to diſmiſs from the Miniſtry, the Queen-mother and the Guiſes, to declare that the King cannot be of age, till twenty-two years old, and finally to give him for tutors and regents of the kingdom, the Conſtable, the Prince de Condé and the King of Navarre. La Sague added, that by moiſtening with water, the covering of the letters of the Vidâme de Chartres, they would ſee, in writing, all that he had revealed. The Plan of the enemies of the Princes of Lorrain, was indeed found upon trial, written, upon the cover of the letters of the Vidâme de Chartres, in the proper hand of Flemin D'Ardoy, ſecretary of the Conſtable. This revelation of the ſecret by La Sague, put the court upon a thouſand manœuvres, to ſtrengthen their party in the Provinces, but ſtill they continued to diſſemble their deſigns

of vengeance: The Proteſtants ſomewhat encouraged on one hand by hopes, and ſtill tormented with perſecutions on the other, broke out in arms in ſeveral places: But the Prince de Condé, whoſe anxiety muſt have been very great for his preſent ſafety, if his ambition was not as inſatiable, and his natural inquietude as troubleſome as is repreſented, made an attempt to ſeize upon Lyons as a ſtrong hold, and an aſylum for himſelf and a place of arms for his party; but he miſcarried, and many of his partizans, the poor Hugonots, were executed.

As ſoon as the King was informed of this enterprize, he reſolved not to give the diſcontented leiſure to form new ones. He left Fontainbleau, accompanied with a thouſand lances, and two regiments of old infantry, lately returned from Piedmont and Scotland. He took the road to Orleans, preſſing the deputies of the Provinces, to repair to that city.

The French nation is divided into three orders, or ſtates, the Clergy, the Nobility, and the People. Theſe three orders are diſtributed into thirty diſtricts or juriſdictions, called Bailliages or Senechalſies. When an aſſembly of the States General is to be held, they reſort to the capital of their reſpective Provinces, where they elect each one ſeparately a deputy, who aſſiſts, in the name of his order, at the general aſſembly, and who enters into all the deliberations relative to the particular intereſts of each one of the three orders, and to the general good of the ſtate. Each Bailliage furniſhes three deputies, the firſt for the Clergy, the ſecond for the Nobility, and the third for the People, under the name, which in France was then conſidered as more honourable,

ble, of the third eſtate. All theſe deputies aſſembled in preſence of the King, of the Princes of the blood, and of the officers of the crown, form the Body of the States General, and act in the name of the nation, whoſe power and authority they repreſent.

No. 21.

——My ſoul aches,
To know, when two authorities are up,
Neither ſupreme, how ſoon confuſion
May enter 'twixt the gap of both, and take
The one by the other. SHAKESPEAR.

WHEN the King is of age, and aſſiſts at the States General, the deputies had the power to conſent to his demands; to propoſe what they judge neceſſary for the good of the different orders of the ſtate; to make their ſubmiſſions in the name of the people to new impoſts; to eſtabliſh and accept of new laws, and new regulations; but when the minority of the Prince, or ſome other incapacity hinders him to govern by himſelf, the ſtates have a right in caſe of conteſtation, to elect the regent of the kingdom, to nominate to the principal offices, to form a council, and, if the maſculine poſterity have failed in the royal family, they may elect a new Monarch, following however, the diſpoſitions of the ſalique law. Excepting theſe caſes of neceſſity, the Kings were accuſtomed to aſſemble the States General, in urgent

gent conjunctures, and to determine, according to their advice, in affairs of moſt importance. "In effect," ſays Davila, "what energy may not the reſolutions of the Prince derive, from the concurrence of his ſubjects? What can be more conformable to the true ſpirit of monarchical government, than this harmony between the ſovereign and the people?" In truth, Davila, though thou art a profound Hiſtorian, thou art but a ſuperficial Legiſlator! Hiſtory anſwers the queſtion, that no energy at all, nor any thing but diviſion, diſtraction and extravagance were derived to the reſolutions of the Prince, till the ſtates were laid aſide. In the language of my motto, two authorities were up, neither ſupreme, and confuſion entered 'twixt the gap. Nothing can be more directly repugnant to monorchical government than ſuch aſſemblies, becauſe they ſet up rivals to the King, and excite doubts and queſtions, in whom the ſovereignty reſides. If a negative is given by them, to the will of the Prince, they become a part of the ſovereignty, annihilate the Monarchy, and convert it into a Republic. If they are mere councils of advice, they become ſcenes of cabal, for aſpiring grandees to force themſelves into the miniſtry.—Never indeed was it more neceſſary to new model the government, and regenerate the nation, than in the preſent conjuncture, when the rivalries of the grandees, employing as inſtruments, the differences in religion, diſturbed the whole kingdom, and demanded the prompteſt remedies.

Upon the reiterated orders of the court, the deputies of the Provinces, had reſorted to Orleans, from the beginning of October 1560, and the King having arrived in perſon, accompanied by

by moſt of the Lords and great officers of the crown, they waited only for the diſcontented Lords and Princes, to open the Aſſembly. The Conſtable and his ſons, were, as uſual, at Chantilly. The King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé, were ſtill at Bearn. The King had written to them all, to invite them to the States; and altho they had not explicitly refuſed, they invented pretexts upon pretexts, to excuſe themſelves, and gain time. Theſe affected delays diſtreſſed the King and the miniſtry. They apprehended, with reaſon, that the refuſal of the Princes of the blood, ariſing from their own ſuſpicions, or upon ſome certain information of what was intended againſt them, would defeat all the projects and preparations, founded only on the hope that they would aſſiſt at the States General. The Prince of Condé, could not be in doubt that they had drawn, either from the priſoners of Amboiſe, or from La Sague, or from the conſpirators arreſted at Lyons, evidence ſufficient to diſcover his deſigns. No motive, therefore, could determine him to place himſelf a ſecond time, at the diſcretion of a court where his enemies were all powerful. The King of Navarre thought differently. Leſs culpable, or more credulous than his brother, he believed, that by going to the States, they ſhould obtain, without difficulty, that reform in the government, which had already coſt them ſo much labor; whereas, by refuſing to be preſent, they would betray their own intereſts, and leave the field open to the ambition and violence of the Princes of Lorrain. He could not believe, that under the eyes of the whole nation aſſembled, a King ſcarcely out of his infancy, an Italian Princeſs, and two ſtrangers, would dare

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to imbrue their hands in the blood of the Princes of the royal houſe, which the Monarchs the moſt abſolute and the moſt vindictive, had ever regarded as ſacred. All theſe motives determined him to venture to the States, with the Prince, to whom he repreſented, that they would infallibly condemn him unheard, if he continued obſtinately to abſent himſelf from court; whereas, by appearing there, and gaining to his intereſts the deputies in the States, there was every reaſon to hope, that if, on judging him with rigor, they ſhould blame his proceedings, the equity of his pretenſions, would afford him a favourable colour, and in the laſt extremity, his birth would obtain him a pardon. All the confidants and partizans of the Princes, ſupported this advice, except the wife and mother-in-law of the Prince of Condé, who conſtantly rejected it, and judged that his life was aimed at, and that of all the courſes he could take that which was recommended to him was the moſt dangerous.

In the midſt of theſe irreſolutions, the King ſent them De Cruſſol and Saint Andre, to engage them to repair to Orleans. Theſe Lords remonſtrated to them, that an Aſſembly ſo reſpectable, and which occaſioned ſo great an expence to the King and the nation, had not been called but on their account, and to ſatisfy their complaints and demands: That they were there to deliberate on the means of reforming the government, and appeaſing the diſputes of religion; matters of ſo high importance, that they could not be decided, without the preſence and concurrence of the Princes of the blood. That if the Princes of Bourbon, after having ſo often demanded the reformation of the government, and an examination of the cauſe

cauſe of the Hugonots, refuſed to aſſiſt at the States aſſembled for thoſe purpoſes, it would ſeem that they meant to trifle with the King, and inſult the majeſty of an aſſembly which repreſented the body of the nation. That they ought hereafter, to impute to themſelves alone, their excluſion from dignities and governments, ſince they had not deigned to come and receive the authority which the King appeared diſpoſed to grant them, with the concurrence of the States. That this conduct proving their little attachment to the ſervice of the King, and the good of the kingdom, they ought not to be ſurprized if the firmeſt reſolutions ſhould be taken to extirpate the ſeeds of diſcord, and manifeſt deſigns to diſturb the ſtate. That if the King was diſpoſed to reward ſuch as gave him proofs of their obedience and fidelity, he was equally determined to reduce to a forced but neceſſary ſubmiſſion, thoſe who ſhould attempt to reſiſt his will, and excite revolts in the cities and Provinces of his kingdom; a crime of which he would ſuſpect the Princes of Bourbon, as long as they ſhould neglect to juſtify themſelves, and their abſence and obſtinacy ſhould confirm, the injurious reports which were ſpread concerning them. That hitherto neither the King nor his Council, had given credit to them; but that the King deſired that, for the honor of the royal blood, the Princes would give proofs of their fidelity and of their zeal for the good of the ſtate, and would juſtify the ſincerity of their intentions in the eyes of France, whoſe attention was attracted and fixed by the aſſembly of the States. Theſe repreſentations made little impreſſion on the Prince of Condé, who was reſolved not to riſque his perſon, in a place where

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enemies could do all things. But his firmneſs was, in the end, conſtrained to bend under the neceſſity. Cruſſol returned to court, with an account of the averſion of the Prince, to come to the States. The Guiſes adviſed to employ force to determine him. The Queen did not oppoſe it: and the King took the reſolution to conſtrain them by force of arms. To this end they ſend de Thermes into Gaſcony, and began to form under his command, an army compoſed of Gendarmery and all the Infantry diſtributed in the neighbouring Provinces.

The Bourbons were without troops, deſtitute of every thing, ſhut up in Bearn, a little Province at the foot of the Pyrennees, wedged in between France and Spain. They doubted not, that if, on the one hand the troops of the King aſſembled in Gaſcony, and on the other, thoſe of the King of Spain, who ardently wiſhed to invade the feeble remains of Navarre, ſhould attack them, they ſhould eaſily be ſubjugated and ſtripped of their dominions. The inſurrections which the Prince of Condé had excited in France, had been attended with no ſucceſs. He was in Bearn without troops and without money. The King of Navarre who would not expoſe the reſt of his ſtates, nor his wife and children, whom he had about him, yielded to neceſſity, more powerful than any Counſels, and finally determined his brother on the journey to Orleans, in the general perſuaſion, that, eſpecially during the ſeſſion of the States, the miniſtry would not take any violent reſolution againſt them; whereas, by obſtinately remaining at Bearn, they would expoſe themſelves to the infamy which always accompanies the name of rebels, and ruin themſelves without

without reſource. The Cardinal of Bourbon, their brother, contributed not a little to haſten this reſolution. The ſoftneſs and ductility of his character, his averſion to troubles, his tenderneſs for his brothers, and the inſinuations of the Queen, engaged him to ride poſt to Bearn, as ſoon as he learnt the intentions and preparations of the court, to force the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé to appear at the States. He exaggerated, on one hand, the number of troops deſtined againſt them, and capable of cruſhing them; and on the other, he aſſured them, that the King and the Queen, had diſcovered none, but favorable diſpoſitions, and an earneſt zeal to re-eſtabliſh concord and public tranquility. They left, therefore, the Queen Jane and her children, at Pau, and with few attendants, all three together, took the road to Orleans.

The Conſtable, whom the court affected to urge leſs, becauſe he was in a place where he might be more eaſily compelled, had commenced his journey with more confidence in appearance, but in reality with more precaution. He had not abetted the diſcontented but with his counſels, which only tended to demand juſtice of the States, without plotting conſpiracies, or exciting inſurrections. A refuſal to go to court might fortify the ſuſpicions conceived againſt him: He therefore employed artifice and diſſimulation, to delay his arrival and regulate his proceedings by the example of the Princes. Arrived at Paris, he pretended to be attacked with the gout, and returned to Chantilly to re-eſtabliſh his health. He again attempted to proceed, but under the pretext that the change of air and the motion of the carriage incommoded him, which his advanced

age rendered plauſible enough; he travelled by little day's journeys, frequently by croſs-ways, at a diſtance from the great road, where he made long delays, to prolong the time, till the arrival of the Princes. His ſons, in perſuading him to haſten his march, repreſented to him, that neither the Queen-mother nor the Guiſes would ever dare to attempt any thing againſt a man, ſo reſpected as he was in the kingdom. The Conſtable, inſtructed by experience, anſwered them, that the miniſtry could govern the ſtate at its pleaſure, and without oppoſition, though they ſeemed to be preparing for themſelves a formidable one, by calling the States General. That this conduct inveloped ſome myſterious intrigue, which he ſhould be able to unveil, with a little patience. This judicious reflection abated the ardor of the young Lords, and the Conſtable continued to temporize.

Nevertheleſs the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé had been received on the frontiers by the Marſhal de Thermes, who, under the pretext of paying them the honors due to their rank, followed them with a large body of Cavalry, to make ſure of the cities become ſuſpected by the depoſition of La Sague. At the ſame time, he ordered poſſeſſion to be taken by other troops, both of Cavalry and Infantry, of all the roads, which the Princes left behind them, leſt a change of their reſolution ſhould determine them to return. As ſoon as it was known at court, that the Princes had entered the kingdom, and were ſo well obſerved by De Thermes, they arreſted, all on a ſudden, Jerome Grollot, Bailif of Orlèans, accuſed of intelligence with the Hugonots, to cauſe a revolt of that city in favor of the diſcontented

diſcontented Princes; and by order of the King, they ſent to priſon the Vidâme of Chartres, who had been imprudent enough to remain in the Capital. They had not the ſame ſucceſs in attempting to ſeize Dandelot. As prudent and ſubtle in providing againſt dangers, as ardent and daring in forming deſigns, he retired ſuddenly to the coaſts of Brittany, reſolved to embark for England in caſe of neceſſity. The Admiral Coligni, whoſe addreſs and diſſimulation, according to Davila, had hitherto conducted every thing, without diſcovering or expoſing himſelf, was among the firſt in the States General, with deſign there to labor in favor of his party. The King and the Queen had received him as uſual, with benevolence. He employed himſelf in following with his eye, all the meaſures of the court, in order to give information of them, ſecretly, and with extreme precautions, to the Conſtable and the King of Navarre.

All theſe delays were exhauſted, when the Princes of the blood arrived at Orleans, the 29th of October, without any perſon's going out to receive them, except a ſmall number of their moſt intimate friends. They found not only the gates of the city guarded, but bodies of guards placed and batteries erected in the ſtrongeſt poſts, in the croiſ ſtreets and public places; precautions which the court had not uſually taken in times of war. They paſſed through the midſt of this formidable apparatus, and came to the King's Lodge, where they kept a more exact guard, than at the head-quarters of an army. Arrived at the gate, they would have entered on horſeback, according to the right attached to their rank:

rank: but they found only a wicket gate open, and were obliged to alight in the open ſtreet, and few perſons appeared to receive or ſalute them. They were conducted to the King, whom they found ſitting between the Duke of Guiſe and the Cardinal of Lorrain, ſurrounded by the Captains of his guards. He received the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé, with a coldneſs very different from that affability which the Kings of France are accuſtomed to practice to all their ſubjects, but above all to the Princes of their blood. He conducted them ſoon to the Queen-mother, where the Guiſes did not follow them. Catharine of Medicis, who wiſhed always to appear neuter and diſintereſted, received them with ordinary demonſtrations of friendſhip, but with an affected ſorrow, and artificial tears. The King continued to treat them with the ſame coldneſs, and addreſſing himſelf to the Prince of Condé, he began to reproach him, that without having received from his Majeſty, either diſpleaſure or ill treatment, he had in contempt of all laws, divine and human, excited ſeveral times his ſubjects, inkindled a war in different parts of his kingdom, attempted to ſeize on his principal cities, and conſpired againſt his life, and that of his brothers. The Prince, without emotion, anſwered with firmneſs, that theſe accuſations were ſo many calumnies forged by his enemies. We muſt proceed then, replied the King, by the ordinary ways of juſtice, to diſcover the truth. He went out of the apartment of the Queen, and commanded the Captains of his guards to arreſt the Prince of Condé. The Queen-mother, forced to conſent to this meaſure, but who had not forgotten that things might change, from one moment

ment to another, exerted herſelf to conſole the King of Navarre. The Prince complained of none but the Cardinal of Bourbon his brother, who had deceived him; and ſuffered himſelf to be conducted to a neighbouring houſe, deſtined for his priſon. They had walled up the windows, doubled the doors, and made it a kind of fortreſs defended by ſeveral pieces of artillery and a ſtrong guard. The King of Navarre, aſtoniſhed at the detention of his brother, breathed out his grief in complaints and reproaches to the Queen, who, caſting all the blame on the Duke of Guiſe, as Lieutenant General of the Kingdom, endeavored only to exculpate herſelf. To the King of Navarre, they gave for a lodging, an houſe, at a little diſtance from that which the King occupied, and guards to obſerve his motions; ſo that, excepting the liberty of ſeeing whom he pleaſed, he was in all other reſpects treated and confined like a priſoner. At the ſame time they arreſted Bouchar this ſecretary, with all his letters and papers; and Madeleine de Roye, mother-in-law of the Prince, with all her letters and papers, at her ſeat at Aniſi. Although they held the gates of Orleans ſhut, and ſuffered no perſon to go out, the news of theſe tranſactions were announced to the Conſtable, who was ſtill but a few leagues from Paris. He ſuſpended his journey, reſolved to paſs no further, but to wait and obſerve the conſequences of theſe events.

Thus the myſtery ſuſpected by the Conſtable was unriddled. The States General were ſummoned only as a net is laid, artfully to be ſprung upon game. This game were the Conſtable and Princes, and their principal friends. They were a mere ſtalking-horſe, behind which to ſhoot a wood-cock;

wood-cock; and that wood-cock was the Prince of Condé. Although of the two authorities which were up, the Court and the States, neither was ſupreme; yet the one we ſee might be taken by the other. We ſhall ſoon ſee that confuſion entered by the gap.

No. 22.

Interveonit deinde, his cogitationibus, avitum malum, regni cupido, atque inde fædum certamen coortum.

THE Queen-mother and the Guiſes, delayed no longer the opening of the States. They began by the profeſſion of faith, drawn up by the Sorbonne, conformably to the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church. The Cardinal de Tournon, Preſident of the order of the Clergy, read it with a loud voice, and each of the deputies approved and adhered to it, upon oath: a precaution which they judged neceſſary to aſſure themſelves of the catholicity of thoſe who were to have a deliberative voice, in the general aſſembly. After this ſolemn act, the Chancellor propoſed, in the preſence of the King, the matters which were to be taken into conſideration. *At the inſtance of the Provinces, the three orders ſeparated, to examine the reſpective demands, and make report of their reſolutions.* But all this was merely theatrical: it was nothing but farcical ſcenery. The Guiſes knew, as well as the Conſtable de Montmorency, that the

the miniſtry could govern the kingdom, and nation, at its will, as a Court or hereditary Supreme Executive always will, where it is checked only by a ſingle repreſentative aſſembly, eſpecially if that aſſembly have no authority but to adviſe, unleſs it has recourſe to violence. Nay, if it have Legiſlative authority, the majority in that aſſembly can only govern, by impoſing its own men on the Executive, in other words, by forcing the King to take their creatures into the miniſtry. So that the miniſtry and the majority in the National Aſſembly muſt always act in concert, and be agreed; and they generally are ſo, to the intolerable oppreſſion of the minority, as in this caſe, until the minority riſe in arms. Reformation of government, and liberty of conſcience, and redreſs of grievances in religion, were ſubjects which the court had too much cunning to bring before the Aſſembly. That would have been, as the Conſtable expreſſed it, to have prepared a formidable oppoſition to themſelves. Had the point been then ſettled, that the States were a Legiſlative Aſſembly; and had the queſtion of religion been brought fairly into deliberation and diſcuſſion before them, it is very probable that liberty of conſcience to the Hugonots, might have been the reſult, even in that age. But theſe, as Davila ſays, were the ſmalleſt objects they had in view: all minds expected with much more ſolicitude, the iſſue of the detenſion of the Prince of Condé. Their doubts were ſoon reſolved by a declaration of council ſigned by the King, the Chancellor and all the grandees, except the Guiſes, who, as ſuſpected of partiality, affected not to appear in this affair. A commiſſion was eſtabliſhed for the trial of the Prince, with authority to render a definitive

definitive ſentence. De Thou, preſident, and Faye and Viole, counſellors of the Parliament of Paris, were the Judges—Bourdin, Attorney General, Tillot, Secretary: All the interrogations and acts were done in the preſence of the Chancellor L'Hopital. They heard the depoſitions of the priſoners of Amboiſe, Lyons and others. They made preparations to interrogate the Prince. He refuſed to anſwer, alledging that in quality of Prince of the blood, he acknowledged no other tribunal, than the Parliament of Paris. He demanded an aſſembly of all the chambers of Parliament; that the King ſhould be preſent in perſon, and that the twelve Peers ſhould have a voice, as well as the great officers of the crown, according to the ancient uſage. That he could not excuſe himſelf, for not remonſtrating againſt a proceeding ſo unheard of, and irregular, and from appealing to the King. This appeal was carried to council, and appeared authorized by reaſon, by the ordinary formalities, and by the cuſtoms of the kingdom. But the ſpirit of rivalry, which is the ſpirit of party, demanded a ſudden vengeance: a party at preſent triumphant, but doubtful whether it were at bottom the moſt powerful, were impelled by fear, as well as hatred, to wiſh a prompt deciſion. The appeal was declared null. But the Prince, having renewed it, and perſiſted in his proteſtations, the council, at the motion of the Attorney-General, pronounced that they ought to conſider the Prince as convicted, ſince he refuſed to anſwer to commiſſioners named by the King. In this manner they obliged him to ſubmit to interrogatories, and purſued the trial, without loſs of time, to final judgment.

The Princes of Bourbon, at the ſummit of misfortune,

misfortune, were very near expiating with their blood, the heinous crime of daring to ſtand in competition with the Guiſes, to patronize liberty of conſcience, and to ſhelter from perſecution the diſtreſſed Hugonots: as Manlius was precipitated from the Tarpeian Rock, for being the friend of the oppreſſed debtors, and the rival of Camillus and the Quintian family. Both were accuſed, it is true, with crimes againſt the ſtate. The ſplendor of the birth of the two Bourbons, and their perſonal merit, intereſted all France. Even their enemies pitied their deſtiny. The Guiſes alone, naturally enterprizing, purſued conſtantly their deſigns, without regard to the merit or quality of thoſe Princes, whether they judged ſuch an act of ſeverity abſolutely neceſſary, to the ſafety and tranquility of the kingdom, or whether, as their enemies ſuppoſed, they had nothing in view but the deſtruction of their rivals, and the eſtabliſhment of their own grandeur. They declared openly, that it was neceſſary by two ſtrokes, at the ſame time, to ſtrike off the heads of Hereſy and Rebellion. *Such is the ſpirit of ſophiſtry: and ſuch is the ſpirit of party.* The Queen-mother, although ſhe conſented ſecretly, and wiſhed that the reſolution taken at Amboiſe, of deſtroying the Princes, ſhould be executed, deſired nevertheleſs, that all the odium of it ſhould fall upon the Guiſes, as ſhe had always had the addreſs, to accompliſh. She propoſed to manage the two parties, for fear of thoſe unforeſeen events, which the inconſtancy of fortune might produce; and affected much grief and melancholly in her behaviour, and reſerve in her diſcourſe. She had even frequent conferences with the two Chatillons, the Admiral and Cardinal,

in which ſhe appeared diſpoſed to ſeek ſome expedient, to extricate from danger the Princes of the blood. She amuſed in the ſame manner, the Dutcheſs of Montpenſier, a Princeſs full of the beſt intentions, an enemy of all diſſimulation, and who judged of the characters of others by the rectitude of her own. Her inclination to Calviniſm, and her intimate connections with the King of Navarre, had enabled her to commence and continue between that Prince and the Queen, a ſecret correſpondence. Theſe intrigues, although directly oppoſite to the conduct which the court held in public, were palliated with ſo much artifice, that the moſt clear-ſighted, could not unravel their genuine deſign, even when they reflected on the depths of the ſecrets of mankind, and the diverſity of intereſts and paſſions which ſerve as motives to their actions.

Already the commiſſioners had rendered their judgment againſt the Prince of Condé. They had condemned him, as convicted of high treaſon and rebellion, to be beheaded, before the palace of the King, at the hour of the aſſembly of the States General. They delayed the execution, only to draw into the ſame ſnare the Conſtable, who, in ſpight of the repeated inſtances of the court, ſtill delayed his journey to the States. They wiſhed to involve in the ſame proſcription the King of Navarre, but they had not proofs againſt him, ſufficient to ſatisfy their own creatures, when one morning the King, in dreſſing himſelf, fell all at once into a ſwoon, ſo deep, and violent, that his officers believed him to be dead. He recovered his ſenſes, it is true: but his malady was judged to be mortal, and his life was deſpaired of. This fatal miſchance terrified the Guiſes. They

They preſſed the Queen-mother, to execute the ſentence againſt the Prince of Condé, while the breath remained in the body of the King, and to take the ſame reſolution againſt the King of Navarre, to prevent all the revolutions which they might have to fear, in caſe of the King's death. They repreſented to her, with warmth, that this was the ſole means of preſerving the crown to her other infant children, and of diſſipating the ſtorm which menaced France: that, although the Conſtable was not arreſted, and in the preſent delicate circumſtances, it would not be prudent to ſeize him, yet that when they ſhould have no longer to fear, neither the credit, nor the pretenſions of the Princes of the blood, the Conſtable would be leſs formidable, as he would neither have the nobility in his intereſts nor the Hugonots of his party: that to deliberate in the moment of execution, and ſuſpend it in this critical ſituation of the King, would be to loſe the fruit of ſo many projects conducted to their end, with ſo much artifice and patience: that even the death of the King ought not to be an obſtacle, becauſe that brothers ſucceeding him of right, the ſame reaſons and the ſame intereſts ſtill ſubſiſted, both for them and their mother. The Queen who had known how to preſerve herſelf neuter, at leaſt in appearance, and who had not motives ſo urgent to precipitate meaſures, conſidered that under a minority, Kings might change their aſpect, and that the exceſſive grandeur of the Guiſes remaining without oppoſition, might become to her as formidable as the ambition of the Princes of the blood. Thus, ſometimes by ſuppoſing the diſtemper of the King to be leſs dangerous, ſometimes by ſpreading

ing favorable reports of a ſpeedy cure, ſhe gained time, delayed the execution of the Prince, and reſerved the liberty of acting according to circumſtances, conformably to thoſe views, in which ſhe was confirmed by the councils of the Chancellor de L'Hoſpital. As ſoon as ſhe had known that the King's life was in danger, ſhe requeſted the ſon of the Duke de Montpenſier, to conduct her ſecretly one night into the apartment of the King of Navarre, and in a long converſation which ſhe had with him, ſhe endeavored, with her ordinary diſſimulation, to perſuade him, that ſhe was very far from approving all that had paſſed, and wiſhed to act in concert with him, to oppoſe the ambition of the Guiſes. The Prince depended little on the ſincerity of theſe proteſtations: they had however an effect in the ſequel. On the fifth of December the King died.

Charles the ninth, ſecond ſon of the Queen, ſucceeded to Francis the ſecond, his brother. He was but eleven years of age, and muſt have a tutor, and the Kingdom a regent.

No. 23.

Utrumque regem, ſua multitudo conſalutaverat.

EACH party expected its own regent. The ancient uſage, and laws often confirmed by the States, called of right to the function, the King of Navarre. But what a reverſe? What an appearance? To confide the perſon of the young King,

King, and the government of the kingdom to a Prince ſuſpected of a conſpiracy againſt the ſtate, detained as a priſoner, and the accomplice of a brother condemned to death!

The *Guiſes* had governed with ſupreme authority under the late King, and attempted the moſt violent meaſures. By committing to them the ſame power, it was eaſy to follow the ſame plan and execute the ſame deſigns. But they were not of the royal blood: how, commit to them the tutorage of a young King, contrary to all the laws of the monarchy? What envy, what jealouſy, what oppoſitions would they not have to contend with, from the nobility and the grandees, who would be diſcontented with their power, and aſpire to deſpoil them of it?

The States had ſometimes conſided the regency to the mothers of Kings, during their minority, and in the preſent competition of ſo many intereſts and contending factions, it was not prudent to place in other hands, the life of the King, and the conſervation of the ſtate.—But a woman, a ſtranger, without partiſans, and without ſupport, could ſhe maintain her ground againſt two ſuch powerful factions, ready to ſupport their pretenſions by the force of arms? The *Guiſes*, foreſeeing what might eaſily happen, leagued themſelves with the Cardinal de *Tournon*, the Duke de *Nemours*, the Marſhals de *Briſſac* and *Saint Andre*, *Sippiere*, governor of Orleans, and many other great Lords, with whoſe influence they reinforced their party, to defend their lives and preſerve their power. The King of Navarre, conceiving happier hopes for the future, united, more ſtrictly than ever, with the *Chatillons*, the Admiral and Cardinal, the Prince de *Porcien*, *Jarnac*,

Jarnac, and many others of their partiſans. He ſecretly armed his friends, and diſpatched courier after courier to the Conſtable. The two parties, having thus placed themſelves in a poſture of defence, the whole court, and the troops divided themſelves among them, and even the deputies of the States took their party, each one followed his paſſions, his intereſt, or his principles.

Never did the neceſſity of a third mediating power, or an umpire, appear more plainly than in this caſe. Had there been a conſtitution in France, and had that conſtitution provided, as it ought to have done, a third party, whoſe intereſt and duty it ſhould have been to do juſtice to the other two, and every individual of each, there would have been little danger to the peace, liberty or happineſs of the people: for ſuch an intermediate authority, by doing juſtice to all ſides, would have been joined and ſupported by the honeſt and virtuous of all ſides, and by this means would have controuled both parties by the laws. But in this inſtance it ſeemed impoſſible to form a third party. Agitation and terror reigned every where. It was dreaded every moment that the friends of the King of Navarre, and thoſe of the *Guiſes* would come to blows. All their meaſures and devices tended mutually to deſtroy each other. Nature itſelf, however, without much aid from any conſtitution, produced an effect. Although this unbridled ardor of ruling, inflamed as it was by private animoſities, hindered not the two parties from rendering publickly their obedience to the King, this ſubmiſſion had no other principle than a jealouſy and mutual apprehenſion, that the one party would

would ſnatch from the other the firſt place in the government. This motive only, and not any reſpect for a conſtitution, had made both parties eager to appear to be the firſt to do homage to Charles the IXth, and on the day of the death of his brother, he was unanimouſly recognized as lawful ſovereign. This ſtep tended inſenſibly to re-eſtabliſh order and authority. The Queen-mother ſaw that it would not be ſafe to truſt the life of her young children, nor the adminiſtration of the ſtate, to either of the parties, one of which was extremely irritated and embittered, and the other full of aſſurance and haughty pretenſions, both well ſupported and ready to proceed to the laſt extremities. She deſired to continue miſtreſs of her children, and of the government of the ſtate: She propoſed, to this end, to remain as a mediatrix; and thought that the two parties, unable to agree among themſelves, and neither being able to triumph over the other, they would both unite in her favor, and abandon to her, by concert, an authority which the oppoſition of their competitors would hinder them from obtaining for themſelves. We ſee in this inſtance that the tripple balance, is ſo eſtabliſhed by providence in the conſtitution of nature, that order, without it, can never be brought out of anarchy and confuſion. The laws therefore ſhould eſtabliſh this equilibrium, as the dictate of nature and the ordinance of providence.

Catharine hoped, that by conducting with ability, the reins of the ſtate would return to her hands. She firſt thought of making ſure of the Princes of Lorrain. A negotiation ſo delicate and thorny, ought not to be confided to any but the

the ableſt hands. The Queen, after having caſt her eyes on ſeveral perſons, fixed them at laſt on the Marſhal *de Saint Andre*, as the man of the court the moſt proper to aſſure her ſucceſs. She ſent for him, and after ſeveral diſcourſes, the reſult was, that it would be impoſſible to terminate the differences of the two parties, without tumult and war, but by relaxing ſomewhat of their pretenſions, by ceding a part on both ſides, and making the Queen the arbitratrix of their intereſt. That by this plan, the two parties, without yielding one to the other, would appear, from reſpect, and for the peace of the public, to give way to the mother of their King, who ſhould hold the equilibrium between the *Guiſes* and the *Bourbons*.

The Queen was a politician refined enough to pretend that ſhe was indebted for this council to the prudence of the Marſhal, rather than that ſhe had ſuggeſted it to him, which was the fact. The Marſhal, judging without paſſion, that this project would be very convenient to the ſlippery and perilous ſituation in which the *Guiſes* ſtood, undertook to negotiate with their party. Upon the propoſition which he made of it to the Duke and Cardinal, and which they brought into deliberation in an aſſembly of their confidents; the opinion of theſe, and even of the two brothers, were divided. The Duke, who had more caution and moderation than his brother, yielded to the accommodation, which was to leave him in poſſeſſion of the governments and riches which he held from the liberality of the late Kings. But the Cardinal more ambitious and more violent, rejected all compromiſes, and pretended that they would preſerve their power in the ſame

ſame degree, as they had exerciſed it under Francis IId. The ſentiment of the Duke was approved by the Cardinal *de Tournon*, the Marſhals *Briſſac* and *Saint Andre*, and above all, by *Sepiere*, the advice of all which perſonages had a weight, which accompanies an high reputation for prudence juſtly acquired. All judged it ſufficient for the *Guiſes* to preſerve their credit and honors, and preſerve themſelves for circumſtances more favorable; and the reſult they communicated to the Queen by *Saint Andre*, and left to her the choice of means the moſt proper to treat with the King of Navarre.

There remained ſtill a greater obſtacle to overcome: to appeaſe the faction of the diſcontented Princes; an enterprize which many thought impoſſible and chimerical: but the Queen, who perfectly knew the characters and diſpoſitions of the perſons with whom ſhe had to treat, did not deſpair of obtaining her end. The King of Navarre had for his principal confidents, *Deſcars*, *Gaſcon*, and *Leoncourt*, Biſhop of Auxerre. *Deſcars* had a contracted genius and little experience; *Leoncourt* was a deſigning politician, but ſolely intent upon his own fortune. The Queen ſecretly gained both, by approaching each on his weak ſide. She dazzled *Deſcars* with preſents, and amuſed him with ſpecious reaſonings. And ſhe excited in the Biſhop of Auxerre, hopes of eccleſiaſtical benefices and dignities which he could not eaſily obtain by the ſole credit of the King of Navarre. They both promiſed, under the pretext of giving faithful and ſincere council to their maſter, to favor the negotiations which tended to bring the two parties together, and commit the regency to the Queen-Mother.

The Dutcheſs of *Montpenſier*, carried the firſt propoſals of accommodation. Her candor and frankneſs, had gained the confidence of the Queen of Navarre. In the progreſs of things, *Carrouges* and *Lanfac*, Lords of conſummate prudence, entered inſenſibly into this negotiation. By means of theſe perſons the Queen propoſed to the King of Navarre three conditions. 1. To ſet at liberty all who had been arreſted for the conſpiracy of Amboiſe, the Prince of *Conde*, Madam *de Roye*, and the Vidâme *de Chartres;* and to annul by the Parliament of Paris, the ſentence againſt the Prince. 2. To create the King of Navarre, lieutenant-general of the kingdom, on condition that the Queen had the title and authority of regent. 3. To obtain of the King of Spain the reſtitution of Navarre. The confidents of the King of Navarre, exaggerated to him theſe advantages; they repreſented to him that the name of regent, a title without reality, was but an empty and ſpecious ſound, for which he would be abundantly recompenſed by the power and authority, which would be given him over the provinces; prerogatives in which conſiſted the effective government of the kingdom. That the glory of delivering the Prince of *Conde*, by the humiliation of his enemies, joined to the hope of re-eſtabliſhing forever his houſe, in its original ſplendor, left him no room to heſitate. It is not a time, ſaid they, to conteſt with rigor againſt enemies ſo powerful. You have to combat the prejudices, which your enterprizes againſt the ſtate have excited. Why, upon the brink of a precipice, do you indulge chimerical hopes? *The deputies of the ſtates are almoſt all, devoted to the will of the Queen and the* Guiſes, *who have choſen them*

them at their pleaſure and gained them to their intereſts. If the affair is left to their deciſion, it is to be feared that their partiality, will incline them to exclude the Princes from the government, and commit it to the *Guiſes*, which would infallibly accompliſh the final ruin of the houſe of *Bourbon.*

Theſe reaſons ſhook the reſolution of the King of Navarre, and diſpoſed him to follow theſe councils: but he was ſtill reſtrained by the Prince of *Conde*, whoſe keen reſentment and deſire of vengeance, rather than ſolid reaſons, excited to adviſe the contrary. The Duke *de Montpenſier* and the Prince *de la Rhoche-ſur-yon*, ſupported thoſe who negotiated an accommodation. Both were of the houſe of *Bourbon*, but of a branch more diſtant from the royal-ſtock, and had not meddled in theſe troubles.

The King of Navarre, before he concluded with the Queen, demanded of her by the immediate negotiators, two new conditions. 1. That they ſhould take away from the *Guiſes* all the employments they had at court. 2. That liberty of conſcience ſhould be given to the Hugonots. From the time that *Calvin* had begun to preach and to write, the firſt ſeeds of his doctrines had been ſown in the court of Henry, King of Navarre, and Margaret of Valois, his conſort, father and mother of the Queen Jane; and as the minds of theſe Princes were indiſpoſed to the See of Rome, which had ſtripped them of their ſtates, under pretext of an excommunication, fulminated by the Pope, Julius the ſecond, againſt France, and its allies; in the number of whom was the King of Navarre; they were eaſily perſuaded of a doctrine contrary to the authority of the Pope,

and

and which taught that the cenſures by which they had loſt their ſtates, were null. The Calviniſtical miniſters, frequenting the court of theſe Princes, there taught their opinions, which had caſt ſo deep roots into the mind of Queen Jane, that ſhe had abandoned the Catholic faith to embrace Calviniſm. Since her marriage with Anthony of Bourbon, ſhe perſiſted in the ſame ſentiments. She had nearly converted her huſband, by the vehement eloquence of *Theodore Beza*, *Peter Martin Vermilly*, and other miniſters who retired into Bearn, there to preach their opinions in full liberty. The Prince of *Conde*, the admiral, and the other chiefs of the party of the Princes of the blood, having alſo embraced Calviniſm, ſome with ſincerity, and others to diſguiſe their political views, under the pretext of religion, the King of Navarre perſiſted more conſtantly than ever, to declare himſelf protector of the Hugonots. For this reaſon, he demanded that they ſhould grant to the Calviniſts liberty of conſcience, as an eſſential condition of the treaty, opened with the Queens. This Princeſs anſwered that to deprive the *Guiſes* of the dignities they held at court, would be to go directly againſt the agreement which was in negotiation, and the reſolution taken to reſtore the tranquility of the Kingdom. That theſe Lords who were very powerful, and actually armed, would not endure an affront ſo public and outrageous: but that, ſupported by the Catholics and the majority of the ſtates, they would exert all their forces and efforts, to maintain their ground. She promiſed however to employ, in due time, all her addreſs, to diminiſh their credit and power. As to the liberty of conſcience, ſhe convinced them that it

was

was a point too delicate, to be granted all at once: That the Parliaments and even the States, would not fail to oppoſe it: But ſhe promiſed, in ſecret, that in governing with the King of Navarre, ſhe would labor in concert with him, by indirect and concealed ways, to ſeize all favorable occaſions to grant to the reformed all the liberty of conſcience that might be poſſible. The Queen, yielding to the neceſſity of the conjuncture, gave theſe promiſes, without any intention to obſerve them: She therefore delayed the execution of them, with all her addreſs. In fact, ſhe knew, or at leaſt believed, that nothing was more contrary to the grandeur and intereſt of her children, than totally to depreſs the *Guiſes*, who ſerved, admirably well, the purpoſe of balancing the power of the Princes of the blood. On the other hand, the liberty of conſcience granted to the Hugonots, would have offended the See of Rome, and the other Catholic Princes, and ſcattered forever, as ſhe pretended, diſorder and diſſention in the kingdom.

The coalition was on the point of concluſion, when the King of Navarre declared that he would determine nothing, without the advice and conſent of the Conſtable, who had cured all his gouts, fluxions and rheums, or in other words, diſmiſſed his pretexts, and approached Orleans. It was therefore neceſſary to invent new projects, to ſurmount this obſtacle, which many imagined the moſt difficult of all. The Queen knew to the bottom, the character of the Conſtable, and that nothing flattered him more, than the part of umpire or moderator in every thing that paſſed around him. She thought that by reſtoring him the ſupreme command of the army, and by

by aſſuring him, that it was from him that ſhe wiſhed to hold her own grandeur, and the ſafety of her children; ſhe would fix him eaſily in her intereſt, and detach him equally from both parties. Thus, with the advice of the King of Navarre, and the *Guiſes*, who were returning to pacific ſentiments, and ſeemed to ſubmit all to her will; ſhe ordered the captains of the guards, and the governor of Orleans to ſurrender to the Conſtable, at his entrance into the city, the command of the armies, and to acknowledge him for their chief. Theſe marks of honor awakened in the breaſt of Anne of Montmorency, the ancient ſentiments of devotion and fidelity, which had attached him for ſo many years to the father and grand-father of the King. Arrived at Orleans, he turned to the captains and ſaid, with his ordinary dignity, that ſince the King had reſtored him his command, they might diſpenſe with guarding his Majeſty ſo exactly in full peace; and that without employing the force of arms, he would make his maſter reſpected through the whole kingdom and by all his ſubjects. Arrived at the palace, where the Queen loaded him with honors, he rendered his homage to the young King, and with tears in his eyes, conjured him to fear nothing from the preſent troubles, for that he and all good Frenchmen, were ready to ſacrifice their lives for the ſupport of his crown. The Queen encouraged by this diſcourſe, the firſt proof of the ſucceſs of her contrivances, entered without delay into ſecret conferences with the Conſtable, before that others had time to entertain and to gain him. She proteſted that ſhe expected every thing from him, both for her children and herſelf; *that the royal authority and the public*

public good were no longer but idle names, for two factions embittered againſt each other, for their mutual deſtruction; that ſhe deſpaired of preſerving to her children under age, a crown envied and attacked by ſuch powerful enemies; unleſs his fidelity, of which he had ſo long given ſuch ſhining proofs, ſhould cauſe him to embrace the defence of the young monarch, of a kingdom torn with diviſions, and of all the royal family. Theſe words in the mouth of a woman, a mother, a Queen in affliction, made ſo deep an impreſſion on the mind of the Conſtable, that he conſented to the accommodation ready to be concluded with the King of Navarre. Flattered with the humiliation of the *Guiſes*, and re-eſtabliſhed in the functions of the firſt truſt in the kingdom, he renounced all intereſts of faction, and reſolved to unite with the Queen, for the preſervation of the ſtate, in which he aſpired only to reaſſume the place which he had merited by his long ſervices.

Concord being thus eſtabliſhed, by the authority of the Conſtable, they aſſembled the council: All the Princes and officers of the crown aſſiſted at it; and the Chancellor having, according to cuſtom, made the propoſitions in preſence of the King, they concluded unanimouſly that the Queen ſhould be declared regent of the kingdom, the King of Navarre lieutenant-general in the Provinces: the Conſtable, generaliſſimo of the armies, the Duke of *Guiſe*, grand-maſter of the King's houſhold, and the Cardinal *de Lorrain*, ſuperintendant of the finances.

The Prince of *Conde* was now diſcharged from Priſon, and an Arret of the Parliament of Paris, conceived in honorable terms, diſcharged him from all the accuſations againſt him; and the

ſentence

ſentence declared null and irregular, as the work of judges incompetent in the cauſe of the Princes of the blood. The Vidame *de Chartres*, died of chagrin in the Baſtile, before the coalition was finiſhed. Thus ended the year 1560.

In the beginning of the year 1561, the Queen-mother and the King of Navarre diſmiſſed the States General, leaſt the *Guiſes* ſhould excite ſome fermentation there. The formation of a conſtitution and the ſettlement of religion, were never the real objects for which they had been called. It appears not that they were even aſked to ratify the regency in the Queen-mother. So looſe and uncertain was the ſovereignty of that great nation, that a confuſed agreement of the chiefs of the two factions, was thought ſufficient for its government, without any forms or legal ſolemnities. The ſtability of the government, and the ſecurity of the lives, liberties and properties of the people was proportionate to ſuch a ſyſtem. The court was ſtill agitated with diviſions and diſſentions.

The *Guiſes*, who had obtained but a ſmall part of their pretenſions; that is to ſay, much in appearance and little in reality; accuſtomed to rule, and very diſcontented with the government and with the Queen, who failed to perform the promiſes ſhe had made to them, watched all opportunities to regain their firſt advantages. The Prince of *Conde*, more irritated than ever, kept in view his ancient projects, and burned with an implacable deſire of vengeance. The *Colignies* were obſtinate to protect the Hugonots. The two parties labored to gain the Conſtable, but he declared that he would remain neuter, and attach himſelf

himſelf only to the King and the Queen. He was confirmed in this reſolution by the conduct of the King of Navarre, who, ſatisfied with the preſent arrangement, lived in good intelligence with the regent, and thought of nothing but peace. The Admiral, his brothers, and the Prince of *Conde*, flattered themſelves that the connection of blood would draw the Conſtable, ultimately to their party. The *Guiſes*, who knew his attachment to the Catholic faith, and his averſion to Calviniſm, which he had cruelly perſecuted under Henry IId, deſpaired not to gain him, under the pretext of defending religion, and exterminating the Hugonots. The vivacity of the King of Navarre, in urging the Queen to accompliſh the promiſes ſhe had made him in favor of the Hugonots, contributed not a little to keep up this fermentation. This Princeſs, ſatisfied with having eſtabliſhed a kind of equilibrium, which ſecured her power and that of her children, dreaded to intercept it, and avoided all occaſions of diſpleaſing the King of Navarre.

She made uſe of delays and pretexts, in hopes that the King of Navarre would relax; but that Prince, excited and tranſported beyond the bounds of his character, by the continued inſtigations of his brother, and the Admiral, and by the urgent ſolicitations of the Queen his conſort, became the more ardent in demanding what had been promiſed him. The Chancellor *De L'Hopital*, whether he judged a liberty of conſcience neceſſary to the good of the ſtate, or whether he had an inclination to Calviniſm, favored, under hand, the ſolicitations of the King of Navarre. He reſtrained with all his authority, the ſeverity of the other magiſtrates, and exhorted the Queen

to be ſparing of blood, to leave conſciences in tranquility, and to avoid every thing which might interrupt a peace, which had coſt ſo much pains to eſtabliſh. Several of thoſe who compoſed the council, ſupported theſe inſtances of the King of Navarre, and proteſted that they ought to be weary of imbruing their hands in the blood of Frenchmen; and that it was time to put an end to puniſhments, the fear of which forced ſo many good ſubjects to abandon their houſes, families and country. The Hugonots themſelves, among whom were many perſons of ſenſe and merit, neglected no cares nor means proper to favor their cauſe; and ſometimes by writing compoſed with art, and ſkilfully propagated; ſometimes by petitions preſented in proper ſeaſons; and ſometimes by perſuaſive diſcourſes of their partizans, endeavored to impreſs the great in their favor, by pathetic paintings of the misfortunes with which they were oppreſſed. The Queen was, at length, obliged to give way to the ſentiments and authority of ſo many perſons. Perhaps ſhe was convinced of the wiſdom of relaxing a ſeverity, which ſhe was in no condition to maintain; and of abandoning laws, which they could no longer execute with rigour. She conſented therefore to an Edict, rendered by the council on the 28th of January. This Edict enjoined all magiſtrates to releaſe all the priſoners arreſted, on account of religion; to ſtop all proſecutions commenced for this cauſe; to hinder diſputes upon matters of faith; forbidding individuals to give each other the odious appellations of Heretics or Papiſts: finally, to prevent unlawful aſſemblies, commotions, ſeditions, and maintain concord and peace in all their departments.

Thus,

Thus, with the deſign of putting an end to puniſhments and the effuſion of blood, a motive dictated by religion and humanity, Calviniſm was, if not permitted, at leaſt tolerated, and indirectly authoriſed.

More lively conteſtations were expected concerning the promiſe which reſpected the *Guiſes*. The King of Navarre, recalling to the Queen the ſecret promiſes which ſhe had made to him, pretended, that in his quality of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, they ought to deliver to him the keys of the palace which the Duke of *Guiſe* kept, as grand maſter of the King's houſehold.

The Queen, in truth, no longer doubted the attachment of the King of Navarre, and of the Conſtable; but ſhe was not ignorant of the increaſing coldneſs of the *Guiſes*, and delayed with all her artifice the moment of offending them. She wiſhed, on one hand, to manage the Hugonots, protected by the Admiral and the Prince of *Conde;* and on the other, the Catholicks, united under the Duke of *Guiſe* and the Cardinal of *Lorrain*. Theſe two factions, were like two powerful dikes, under the ſhelter of which, ſhe enjoyed a calm. By weakening the Catholicks, ſhe was afraid of putting the Hugonots in a condition to give her the law. Sometimes by temporizing, therefore, and ſometimes by granting other favors to the King of Navarre, ſhe endeavored to divert him from this pretenſion. But the more ſhe endeavored to make him loſe ſight of this object, the more the Prince purſued it with warmth.

Finally, the Queen, that ſhe might not deſtroy the harmony ſhe had taken ſo much pains to eſtabliſh, commanded the captains of the guards,

no longer to carry the keys of the palace to the grand maſter of the King's houſe-hold, but to the lieutenant-general of the kingdom, to whom this prerogative belonged of right. This proceeding irritated the Duke of *Guiſe*, but infinitely more the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, his brother, leſs becauſe they conſidered it as an affront, from which the regulation of the council of regency would have ſcreened them, than becauſe they ſaw clearly, that with the conſent of the Queen, the King of Navarre aſpired to diſtreſs, and deſtroy them. They knew very well that they were accuſed of liſtening to nothing but their intereſt and ambition, and ſeeing themſelves no longer able to prevail in this private quarrel with the Princes of the blood, who diſpoſed of all the forces, as well as of the royal authority, they diſſembled their reſentments, and complained of nothing but the liberty of conſcience, which had been tacitly granted to the Hugonots, covering thus with the ſpecious veil, and the pretext of religion, their paſſions and perſonal intereſts. Thus the diſcords of the great confounded themſelves inſenſibly with the differences of religion, and the factions of the Princes, quitting the name of malcontents and Guiſards, to aſſume the more impoſing titles of Catholics and Hugonots, they exerted themſelves with the greater fury, as they diſguiſed it under the names of zeal and of piety.

The regent and the Conſtable, maſters of the perſon and authority of the King, held the balance in the middle. The Conſtable was indeed much oppoſed to Calviniſm, and attached to the Catholic religion; nevertheleſs, his affection for his nephews, and the love of peace, induced him to conſent to make uſe of management in matters of

of religion, until the King ſhould arrive at his majority. But to corroborate more and more, the authority of the young monarch, though a minor, thoſe who held the reins of government thought proper to conduct him to Reims, where they preſerve with veneration, *the Phial which a pigeon brought down from heaven, full of holy oil, with which* Clovis *was anointed and conſecrated.*

During the ceremony of conſecration, there aroſe a new conteſt concerning precedency, between the Princes of the blood and the Duke of *Guiſe*. The former pretended that it was due to their birth. The Duke on his ſide demanded it, as firſt peer of France. The council of State decided it in favor of the Duke of *Guiſe*, becauſe the preſence of the peers of France, who are twelve in number, ſix eccleſiaſtical and ſix laical, was neceſſary in this ceremony; whereas, the Princes of the blood, who have no function to diſcharge in it, may diſpenſe with their attendance. This light ſpark ſerved to inkindle and embitter more aud more, the ſpirits of all parties. The Admiral and Prince of *Conde* had ſet every machine in motion to draw in the Conſtable to their intereſt: They were powerfully ſeconded by the Marſhal of *Montmorenci*, his eldeſt ſon, who was ſtrictly connected with them. The Conſtable, always firm in his reſolutions, could not determine to diſhonor his old age, by placing himſelf at the head of a party, nor by leagueing himſelf with thoſe whom he thought new enemies of religion. The Admiral, always fruitful in reſources and expedients, imagined one at this time, calculated to bring the Conſtable into their views, by ways more indirect. There was then held at Pontoiſe, an aſſembly of ſome deputies of the Provinces, to deliberate

deliberate upon the means of acquitting the immenſe debts, which the crown had contracted in the laſt wars. The Marſhal of *Montmorenci* preſided in it. There were alſo ſome friends of the Admiral. He made uſe of them, to bring upon the carpet, whatever he thought proper. The *Colignies* and the Prince of *Conde*, there demanded, by the organ of their confidents, that they ſhould oblige all thoſe who had received benefits or gratifications, from the Kings Francis Iſt and Henry IId, to report them to the royal treaſury, pretending, that a calculation being made, without impoſing new burthens, they might extinguiſh the greateſt part of the debt, which both within and without the kingdom, cruſhed the ſtate and individuals.

Thoſe who had received the greateſt benefactions from the late Kings, were the *Guiſes*, *Diana* of Valentinois, the Marſhal *Saint Andre*, and the Conſtable. They were deſirous indeed of humbling the former: but as to the latter, they

ing this reſearch, which intereſted them equally. She concerted her plan with art, or a kind of prudence, which is not uncommon in women of her character; her averſion for the Queen, and her fears of loſing all the gains of her trade, made her think that the true means of her ſafety, would be to allure the Conſtable into the party of the Catholic religion, and a cloſer connection with the *Guiſes*. She launched out into invectives againſt the Admiral and the Prince of *Conde*, whom ſhe conſidered as the authors of the propoſition made at the aſſembly at Pontoiſe; ſhe deplored the miſeries of the ſtate, whoſe government, in the hands of a child and a foreign woman, was the inſtrument of pernicious councils, to foment the ambition and gratify the paſſions of certain individuals, to whom were ſacrificed the ſafety and tranquility of the kingdom; into which they introduced, without ſhame, hereſies condemned by the Church, and againſt which the late Kings, with juſt ſeverity, had employed fire and ſword. She added, with the ſame vivacity, and ſincerity, that all France was aſtoniſhed and enraged, to ſee, that a *Montmorenci*, whoſe houſe had been the firſt of the whole nation to embrace Chriſtianity; that a man, who for ſo long a time had filled the firſt office in the ſtate, ſhould at preſent allow himſelf to be faſcinated by the artifices of a woman; and that, a ſlave to her caprices, and to the imperfect information of the King of Navarre, he conſented to all their enterprizes againſt religion. She remonſtrated to the Conſtable, that having the arms and the power in his hands, he was indiſpenſibly obliged to oppoſe the pernicious deſigns of government, and to watch ſtill, as he had

had done ſo many times before, over the conſervation of a tottering throne, and a religion wholly forſaken. She recalled to his recollection that ancient conduct which had procured him ſo much glory, in oppoſing the aggrandizement of ſtrangers. She conjured him that he would not ſuffer two women, one an Italian, the other of Navarre, to ruin the principal foundations of the French Monarchy; that is to ſay, religion and piety; to remember that the regent was the ſame Catharine, whoſe conduct he had always cenſured, and whoſe character he deteſted; that the Hugonots were thoſe ſame ſectaries, whom he had ſo eagerly perſecuted under Henry IId; that neither the perſons nor the nature of things were changed; that the whole world would believe, that enfeebled by age, he let himſelf be guided, either by the ambition or caprice of others, ſince he appeared ſo different from what he had been. Such was the language of *Diana*, and who ſo proper as an harlot, to proſtitute religion to the purpoſes of ambition, avarice, and faction. The only wonder is, that theſe diſcourſes of the Dutcheſs, which ſhe took care frequently to repeat, began to make an impreſſion on the Conſtable. Sometimes an indignation againſt his nephews, ſometimes the apprehenſions of loſing his fortune, and ſometimes his hatred againſt Calviniſm, ſo diſpoſed him to liſten to the Dutcheſs, that at length her inſinuations, together with thoſe of *Magdalen* of Savoy, his wife, ſucceeded to detach him from the party of the Queen. This *Magdalen* ſaw with vexation the unbounded favors granted to the *Colignies*, which ſhe wiſhed might be conferred on her brother *Honore*, of Savoy, Marquis of Villars. Thus her jealouſy

jealouſy neglected nothing to ſerve the latter, and to hurt the nephews of her huſband. *Diana* alſo, engaged the Marſhal *de Saint Andre* to ſecond her in this negotiation. The fear of loſing his fortune, the violent hatred which he conceived againſt the *Colignies*, and the plauſible pretext of preſerving the Catholic faith, urged him to employ his influence with the Conſtable in favor of the *Guiſes*; who, as ſoon as they were informed of it, omitted neither artifices, ſubmiſſions nor intrigues, to compleat the conqueſt; hoping by this means to re-eſtabliſh their power, or at leaſt to recover a great part of it. The Marſhal of *Montmorenci* was the only one who could croſs this negotiation. But *Diana*, his wife, having fallen ſick at Chantilly, he was obliged to leave his father, to attend her. The *Guiſes*, diſembarraſſed of this obſtacle, put the laſt hand to their agreement with the Conſtable, for the preſervation of the Catholic religion and the mutual defence of their fortunes.

The Queen informed of this union, thought herſelf deprived of her firmeſt ſupport, and dreaded, that the Princes of Lorrain, ſupported by the credit of the Conſtable, and diſcontented with her, might attempt to take from her the regency. She thought it neceſſary therefore, to connect herſelf more ſtrictly with the King of Navarre, to counterbalance this new party. She directed all her cares to maintain that equilibrium, which aſſured her power, and that of her ſon. She entered into all the views of the King of Navarre, in favor of the Hugonots. Under the pretext of maintaining peace during the minority of the King, and of conciliating the hearts of the people, by a reputation of clemency, ſhe publiſhed new

declarations, which enjoined upon all the parliaments and all the other magiſtrates of each province, to moleſt no man on account of religion; to reſtore the goods, houſes and poſſeſſions to all thoſe, who, in times paſt, had been deprived of them, on ſuſpicion of hereſy. The parliament of Paris, and ſome other magiſtrates refuſed to comply: but the Hugonots, thinking themſelves authorized by the will and orders of the King, of the regent, and the diſpoſitions of the council, aſſumed to themſelves, as they had a better right to do from God and nature, a liberty of conſcience, and their numbers and forces augmented from day to day. This was to fulfil the views of the Queen, if theſe religioniſts had known how to reſtrain themſelves within the bounds of moderation and reaſon. But as it commonly happens to people, who ſuffer themſelves to be tranſported by their paſſions, and will not conform to the reſtraints of authority: as ſoon as they felt themſelves tolerated, protected, and delivered from the fear of puniſhment, their reſentments of former ill uſage aroſe, they loſt the reſpect due to the magiſtrates, and ſometimes by public aſſemblies, and ſometimes by injurious diſcourſes, or other violent proceedings, they drew upon themſelves the hatred and indignation of the Catholicks. Hence aroſe obſtinate diſputes, which throwing the two parties into quarrels, ſpread tumult and inſurrections thro all the provinces of the kingdom. Thus, contrary to the intentions of government, and the expectations of the public, the remedy employed to ſave the ſtate and maintain peace, became, at leaſt as our Hiſtorian repreſents, contagious and prejudicial; and occaſioned preciſely thoſe troubles

bles and dangers, which they ſought ſo carefully to prevent.

The *Guiſes*, we may be ſure were not at all mortified at this turn of affairs. It was preciſely what they wiſhed. Encouraged and fortified by their union with the Conſtable, they ſeized this occaſion to oppoſe the Queen and the King of Navarre. The Cardinal of Lorrain finding the moment favorable to explaim himſelf in council, without regard to the Queen or the King of Navarre, who were preſent, began to ſpeak on the ſtate of religion, and to repreſent, with all the vehemence of his character, that it was to betray religion, and to diſhonor themſelves in the eyes of the whole earth, to grant, in a moſt chriſtian kingdom, liberty of conſcience, to innovators already condemned by councils and the voice of the church. That not ſatisfied with diſſeminating monſtrous opinions, with corrupting the riſing generation, and impoſing on the ſimplicity of the weak, they blow up the fire of rebellion in all the provinces of the kingdom. That already the inſolence and outrages of theſe Heretics, hindered the miniſters of the church from celebrating maſs, and from appearing in their pulpits, and left to the magiſtrates ſcarce a ſhadow of authority; that every thing was a prey to the ſword and flames, by the imprudence and obſtinacy of thoſe who arrogated to themſelves the licence of believing and teaching at their pleaſure; that the firſt kingdom of Chriſtendom was upon the point of making a ſchiſm, of ſhaking off the yoke of obedience due to the holy ſee, and of abandoning the Catholic faith, to ſatisfy the caprice of an handful of ſeditious men. The Cardinal, enforced theſe arguments with ſo much

much energy, with that confidence and natural eloquence which gave him ſuch an aſcendancy, even in the moſt problematical opinions, that the protectors of the Hugonots oppoſed nothing to him but ſilence. The King of Navarre and the Queen replied not a word, and even the Chancellor appeared amazed and confounded. The counſellors of ſtate, irritated againſt the Hugonots, were of opinion to aſſemble immediately all the Princes and officers of the crown, to the parliament of Paris, there to treat on this ſubject, in the preſence of the King, and determine the means of curing theſe diſorders. This aſſembly was accordingly held on the 13th of July, 1561, in parliament. The King of Navarre dared not alone to make oppoſition openly; this would have been to declare himſelf a Calviniſt. The Queen indeed, deſired that the Catholic party ſhould not prevail; but ſhe was not the leſs apprehenſive that they would impute to her the eſtabliſhment and progreſs of Hereſy. The conteſts in parliament were however, animated: the partizans of the Hugonots, forgot nothing to procure them liberty of conſcience, as the only means proper to appeaſe all troubles, and heal all diviſions. Their efforts were uſeleſs. There was ſome reaſon for ſaying, that liberty of conſcience was evidently oppoſed to the ſpirit and authority of the Catholic church; but none at all for pretending that it was contrary to the fundamental laws of the kingdom.

It was decided that the Calviniſtical preachers and miniſters ſhould be chaſed out of the kingdom: and that they ſhould conform in the public worſhip, only to the cuſtoms and ceremonies authorized by the Roman church. All aſſemblies,

blies, of every kind and in every place, with arms or without, except in the Catholic churches, there to hear divine ſervice, according to their uſages, were forbidden. To grant, however, ſome mitigation to the Hugonots, they added in the ſame Edict, that the cognizance of the crime of Hereſy, ſhould be reſerved to Biſhops and their grand Vicars; and if they had recourſe to the ſecular arm, they could not condemn the guilty, but to baniſhment; finally, they gave a general amneſty for all diſorders committed in times paſt, on account of religion. A declaration was drawn, ſigned by the King, the Queen, and all the Princes and lords of both parties.

The Prince of *Conde* and the Admiral, irritated to ſee ſuppreſſed a party, upon whoſe number and forces they had founded all their hopes, and not being able to hinder the execution of the Edict, which all the parliaments and moſt of the inferior tribunals preſſed into execution with great ardor, imagined another expedient; it was to engage the miniſters of the Hugonots to demand a public conferrence, in preſence of the King, with the Catholic Prelates, upon the controverted points. This indirect method appeared to them proper to obtain inſenſibly, a liberty of conſcience. The Cardinal *de Tournon*, and ſeveral other Catholic Prelates, oppoſed this requeſt; they remonſtrated that it was uſeleſs to diſpute about religion, with a people who were very obſtinate, and who perſiſted in a doctrine condemned by the church. That if they wiſhed to lay open their reaſons, they might addreſs themſelves to the council of Trent. The Cardinal of *Lorrain* was of opinion in favor of the conference; whether he flattered himſelf that he ſhould confound

found the Hugonots, by his irreſiſtable reaſoning, and convince thoſe whom he thought ſeduced, or whether, as thoſe who envied him gave out, by making an oſtentatious exhibition of his eloquence and erudition, he wiſhed ſtill further to increaſe his reputation and glory, in ſo celebrated an aſſembly: Whatever were his intentions, it is certain that by not oppoſing the demand of the Proteſtants, he draws into his ſentiment the prelates, who yielded to the ſolicitations of the King of Navarre. This Prince, who had long deſired to hear a diſpute in form, between the Catholics and Hugonots, to clear up his own doubts, ſupported with warmth the demand of the Proteſtants. They ſent therefore ſafe conducts to the miniſters refugees at Geneva, and aſſigned for the place of conference Poiſy, a little city, five leagues from Paris.

The King appeared at Poiſy, with all his court, accompanied by the Cardinals of *Bourbon*, of *Lorrain*, of *Tournon*, of *Armagnac*, and of *Guiſe*, who

his age not permitting him to diſcern the truth, there was reaſon to fear, that he might be ſurprized by ſome dangerous opinion, contrary to the faith. After ſeveral debates, the aſſembly ſeparated without deciding any thing.

The Cotholics gained only one advantage. The King of Navarre was not ſatisfied with the Hugonots, having obſerved ſome variations of their miniſters in the doctrines which they maintained. Some followed literally the ſentiments of *Calvin*; others inclined to the doctrine of *Luther*; theſe adhered to the profeſſion of faith of the Swiſs, thoſe to the confeſſion of *Augſbourg*. Shocked with this inconſiſtency, as he thought it, this weak Prince began to be diſguſted with the new opinions, and to attach himſelf to the Catholic religion. But the Hugonots drew from this conference all the fruit that they had promiſed themſelves. As ſoon as they came out of it, they boaſted highly that they had demonſtrated the truth of their belief, convinced the Catholic doctors, confounded the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and obtained of the King permiſſion to preach their doctrine. In fact, of their own private authority, they began to aſſemble, wherever they pleaſed, to hold publickly their ſermons, with ſo great an affluence of people, and ſo great a concourſe of nobility, as well as others, that it was no longer poſſible to reſtrain them.

When the magiſtrates attempted to hinder their aſſemblies, or the Catholics attempted to chaſe them from the churches where they met, the Hugonots run to arms, and defended themſelves. The two parties attacked each other with fury, under the names of Hugonots and Papiſts. The whole kingdom was in a flame.

The

The power of the magiſtrates loſt its energy; the people were in continual terror and alarms; the collection of the revenues was interrupted, and in the boſom of peace, an inteſtine and cruel war was ſeen to be inkindled. The Queen-Mother and the King of Navarre, moved with theſe exceſſes, ſeeing that the ſeverity of the Edict of July, had only increaſed the diſorders, convoked another aſſembly of deputies from all the parliaments of the kingdom, to be informed by them, of the ſtate of each province, and to deliberate upon the moſt proper means of re-eſtabliſhing tranquility. *The views of the miniſtry changing continually, as the intereſts of miniſters and the paſſions of the great varied; it was not aſtoniſhing, that after ſo many meaſures taken, abandoned, reaſſumed, affairs ſhould ſtill remain in greater diſorder, and a more ſtrange confuſion.* It was indeed impoſſible that ſuch frequent variations ſhould reſtore good order, which an equal and uniform conduct could alone maintain.

This aſſembly was holden at Paris, in the beginning of the year 1562. The Queen, according to her ordinary maxims, employed herſelf in holding the balance between the two parties, and to hinder one from prevailing over the other, for fear ſhe ſhould be the victim of the ſtrongeſt. The greateſt part of the magiſtrates concurred in her views; ſome perſuaded that it was impoſſible to reſtrain ſo great a multitude, animated by a furious zeal for religion, and others ſeeing with regret ſo much blood ſhed to no good purpoſe. They prepared that famous Edict of January, which granted to the Hugonots, the liberty of conſcience, and the liberty of holding their aſſemblies and preaching their ſermons, upon condition that

that they ſhould meet without arms, without the cities, in the fields, and in preſence of the judges of the places. The parliaments and other tribunals oppoſed, at firſt, the execution of this Edict; but it was finally regiſtered, upon repeated letters of juſſion, (ſealed commands to do a thing which they had refuſed to do) of the King and Council. This was a thunder bolt to the chiefs of the Catholic party. To bring on a criſis, to force all the Catholics to join them, and to hinder the execution of the Edict, the Duke of *Guiſe*, the Conſtable, all the Cardinals, except de *Tournon*, who was lately dead, the Marſhals *de Briſſac* and *Saint Andre* quitted the court, to oppoſe themſelves with all their forces to the Calviniſtical party. So near was liberty of conſcience at that time, to a compleat and final eſtabliſhment in France, that nothing but this violent meaſure could have prevented it; even this retreat of all the Catholics would not have ſucceeded, without another artifice. They ſufficiently foreſaw, that as long as the good intelligence ſubſiſted between the Queen-mother and the King of Navarre, they ſhould have no power to intermeddle in the government of the kingdom, and that all their efforts would be in vain; they propoſed therefore to break it. Convinced that the Queen-mother would never change her plan or her conduct, at leaſt until the majority of her ſon, they thought it would be more eaſy to gain upon the underſtanding of the king of Navarre. Their receſs enabled them to conduct with more ſecrecy this negociation, which required time and addreſs. *D'Eſt*, legate of the Pope, and *Manriquez* ambaſſador of Spain, let into the ſecret and entruſted

with the conduct of it, eaſily commenced the conferences, by the interpoſition of the confidents of the King of Navarre. This weak Prince, had, or pretended to have, no longer the ſame inclination for the Hugonots, ſince the colloquy at Poiſſy, where he had remarked their variations upon the conteſted points of faith, and not having found in *Theodore Beza*, nor in *Peter Martyr*, the ſame confidence as he thought, as they affected when they dogmatized without contradictors, he had conſulted Doctor *Baudouin*, equally verſed in ſcriptures and in controverſy. This theologian had decided the King of Navarre, to re-unite himſelf to the faith of the church, and to adopt neither the profeſſion of faith of the Swiſs Proteſtants, nor the confeſſion of Augſbourg. His acquieſcence in the Edict of January was leſs from any inclination to the Hugonots, than from an opinion that conſciences ought not to be reſtrained, and that toleration was an infallible means of extinguiſhing the troubles of the kingdom. As ſoon as his confidents, already diſpoſed to ſerve the Catholic party, had informed the legate and ambaſſador, that he was in this temper, theſe laſt failed not to take advantage of it, to open the negotiation. In order to unite to motives of conſcience, perſonal advantages and temporal intereſts, they propoſed to him to divorce his Queen Jane, with a diſpenſation from the Pope, becauſe ſhe was an Heretic, and to marry Mary, Queen of Scots, the niece of the *Guiſes*, and widow of Francis IId, a Princeſs who united to the charms of youth and beauty, the actual poſſeſſion of a great kingdom. The King of Navarre, attached to his children, rejected firmly this propoſition. They then brought upon the carpet, once more, the

the exchange of Sardinia, ſo often propoſed in vain. This was the delicate point. which touched him the moſt ſenſibly. His hopes indeed, were not very ſtrong; but this negotiation not having been wholly broken off, *Manriquez*, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, by his ordinary artifice, renewed it with ſo much apparent ſerioufneſs, as to re-animate the deſires and the confidence of the King of Navarre. Not content with giving him the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of the good diſpoſitions of the Catholic King, he proceeded ſo far as to treat of the means of exchange, and of the quality of the rents and ſervices, which the King of Navarre ſhould render the crown of Spain, as acknowledgments of its ſovereignty. They debated theſe clauſes and conditions as ſeriouſly, as if they were upon the point of ſigning the treaty. The character of the King of Navarre, and his inclination to embrace always the moſt honorable and plauſible meaſures, favored the deſigns of the Catholics.

This Prince (the King of Navarre,) began gravely to acknowledge that the Hugonots diſguiſed their paſſions and their intereſts, under the veil of chriſtian charity, and the cloak of religion. Moreover, he was made to apprehend that the Admiral, with his policy, would perſuade all France to believe that the King of Navarre followed blindly his councils. They piqued his jealouſy, by repreſenting to him that the Calviniſts highly blamed his ſloth and indolence, while all their affections and attachments were to the Prince of *Conde*, whoſe courage, promptitude, and magnanimity, they never ceaſed to exalt and celebrate. A laſt conſideration of extreme importance, touched a nerve of exquiſite ſenſibility:

The,

The King of France and his brothers were of feeble and delicate complexions, ill conſtituted, ſubject to dangerous diſtempers, and too young to have children. The ſucceſſion to the crown, regarded him as the firſt Prince of the blood, and to declare himſelf the head and protector of the Hugonots, was to place between the throne and him, an impenetrable barrier. To ſmooth his way the more eaſily to the throne, he inclined to re-unite himſelf to the Catholic party, to attract the favor of the Pope and the King of Spain, and to attach to himſelf the forces of the faction, which was the beſt united, and the moſt powerful. He began to diſtruſt the councils of the Queen his wife, blindly devoted to Calviniſm, and naturally an enemy of pacific meaſures. The magnificent promiſes and perſuaſive diſcourſes of the legate, and of *Manriquez*, joined to ſo many other motives, determined him finally to unite himſelf with the Conſtable and the Duke of *Guiſe*. They declared loudly in words and by writings, that they were leagued only for the defence of the Catholic religion; but their views were, in reality, much more vaſt. The King of Navarre abandoned one party, in which he found himſelf eclipſed by his brother, to attach himſelf to another, in which they offered him more brilliant hopes. And the *Guiſes* entered into this convention, only to re-eſtabliſh their credit and ancient grandeur.

Such was the union, which taught the French the art of forming leagues and combinations, without the knowledge of their ſovereigns. The Hugonots repreſented it in the moſt odious colours, and called it the triumvirate. The Queen Jane conceived a lively reſentment of this unexpected

pected reſolution of her huſband. Full of indignation to ſee him become the moſt ardent perſecutor of her favorite religion, in which ſhe flattered herſelf ſhe had confirmed him; ſhe reſolved to quit the court, and retired into Bearn, with the Prince Henry, and the Princeſs Catharine, her children, whom ſhe inſtructed in the reformed religion, declining all further ſociety, and commerce with her huſband. The Queen-mother was not leſs alarmed with a change ſo ſudden and incredible. *The triumvirate deſtroyed all the projects of an equilibrium, which ſhe had founded, on the diſtruſts and animoſities which divided the grandees.* She dreaded as much, for the ſafety of her children, as for her own authority. Theſe reciprocal variations, theſe combinations of intereſts, totally oppoſite to each other, announced clearly enough to her underſtanding, that this union concealed high hopes, and vaſt deſigns. She knew that the *Guiſes* had unravelled her artifices, and that burning with ambition, they ſought every means of re-entering into the miniſtry. Moreover, what probability was there, that the King of Navarre would renounce the friendſhip of his brother, and of his moſt faithful partizans, to unite with his moſt cruel enemies, if he had not been aſſured of great advantages in ſuch a change. She was not ignorant of the empire which is held over human hearts, even the moſt upright, by ambition and the thirſt of ruling. Finally, conſidering every thing which threatened her, ſhe could not diſſemble her own weakneſs, nor that of her children. Forced by theſe reflections to truſt no longer, either the ſincerity of the King of Navarre, nor the demonſtrations made by the Catholics, of having no deſign of making

making any innovation in the government; a prey to conſtant terrors, alarms and ſuſpicions, nothing was capable of calming her inquietude. She paſſed often whole nights, in conference with her confidents, and among others with the Biſhop of *Valance*, and the Chancellor *De L'Hopital*: Their counſels, and above all, the critical poſition in which ſhe ſtood, determined her to form a coalition with the Prince of *Conde* and the Admiral, to favor their deſigns, and ſupport herſelf with their forces, in order to counterbalance, as much as poſſible, the power of the oppoſite faction: alledging among other motives, to her Catholic conſidents, that God himſelf permits evil for the ſake of good: and ſince the Hugonots had cauſed ſo many diſorders, it was but juſt to make uſe of them, to cure the diſtempers which had infected the heart of the ſtate.

The Hugonots delivered from the fear of puniſhment, by the publication of the Edict of January, had began to recover courage, and held frequently public aſſemblies; their party appeared conſiderable, both by their number and the quality of their members: and their forces were not inconſiderable. The Prince of Conde had openly declared himſelf their head; he was, in appearance, reconciled with the Guiſes, in obedience to the orders of the King: but, in his heart he burnt with an impatient deſire to revenge himſelf, againſt his principal perſecutors, for the outrages which he had received. The Admiral, who in the view to aggrandize himſelf, as well as his brothers, more ſtrictly united than ever to the party of the Hugonots, moderated the ardor and vehemence of the Prince, by the maturity of his counſels. Under theſe chiefs, and

and in the ſame ſentiments, were engaged the Prince of *Porcien*, the Lords of *Genlis*, of *Grammont*, of *Duras*, the Earls of *Rochefoucault* and of *Montgomery*, the Barons of *Ardrets*, of *Bonchavannes*, *Soubire*, and ſeveral other great men of the kingdom. With any, the leaſt authority of government, they were in a condition to reſiſt, and oppoſe boldly the oppoſite party.

The Queen, forced as ſhe thought to take advantage of a conjuncture ſo favorable for her own defence, and that of her children; and reduced to the neceſſity of embracing the firſt party which preſented, however dangerous it might be, expected from time and events, the unravelling all their intrigue. She feigned to be ſtaggered by the reaſonings of the Hugonots, and diſpoſed to embrace their opinions. To confirm them ſhe was more in this opinion, by exterior demonſtrations, ſhe cauſed their miniſters to come into her apartment, and appeared to hear them with pleaſure. She manifeſted great confidence and benevolence to the Admiral, and the Prince of *Conde*, in the frequent converſations ſhe had with them. She deceived the Dutcheſs of *Montpenſier*, by her falſe confidences, and made uſe of her, to allure the principal Hugonots; the better to color the promiſes and hopes, which ſhe gave in ſecret, by apparent meaſures. She wrote even to the Pope in equivocal terms. Sometimes ſhe demanded a free and general council, ſuch as the Calviniſts deſired: ſometimes, permiſſion to convoke a national council. Another time ſhe ſolicited the uſe of the communion in both kinds, a diſpenſation to prieſts to marry; the liberty of praying in the vulgar language, and other ſimilar innovations, as the Catholics

called

called them, which the Hugonots wiſhed, and introduced. *De Liſle*, the French ambaſſador at Rome, ſeconded her ſo perfectly, that, by exciting doubts concerning her faith in the minds of the Pope and the Catholics, ſhe obliged them to obſerve great caution in their own conduct, for fear they ſhould irritate her, and diſguſt her againſt the Roman religion. By the ſame artifice ſhe deceived the penetration, and gained the hearts of the Hugonots, by perſuading them that ſhe was wholly diſpoſed in their favor: to ſuch a degree, that the implacable hatred which they once bore her, had given place to confidence and attachment. It was not only the people that ſhe amuſed by theſe appearances: the Admiral himſelf, in ſpight of all his appearance, policy and penetration, had ſuffered himſelf to be ſeduced. He heſitated not to give the Queen a circumſtancial account of the number, forces and deſigns of the Calviniſts, of the correſpondences which they maintained, both within and without the kingdom, and of all other particulars which concerned his party; as ſoon as ſhe gave him to underſtand, that ſhe deſired to have exact information before ſhe declared herſelf, aſſuring him that ſhe would embrace openly that party, as ſoon as it ſhould be ſufficiently powerful to place her out of the reach of the vengeance of the Catholics and the triumvirate, compoſed of the Duke of *Cuiſe*, the Conſtable and the King of Navarre. Thus, by a change equally prompt and incredible, the King of Navarre attached himſelf to the Catholic party, and Queen Catharine, at leaſt in appearance, became favorable to the Hugonots. Theſe variations were at the time attributed to the levity of mind of the King of Navarre, and the

the natural inconſtancy of the ſex of the Queen: and it is thus that ſome Hiſtorians have ſince judged, who were either not capable, or had not opportunity, like *Davila*, to unravel the ſecret ſprings of theſe reſolutions.

Is it poſſible to place an unbalanced government, in a light more deſpicable or more contemptible! Can human nature be more diſgraced, than by this endleſs ſeries of unions, ſeparations, coalitions, combinations and tergiverſations? And yet it is moſt obvious, that ſuch a ſeries muſt forever be the effect of a conſtitution, where there is no legal equilibrium.

No. 24.

AFFAIRS had now taken a new face. It was eaſy to foreſee, that the animoſities of the two factions would never be extinguiſhed but by arms—and that the tempeſt which had long grumbled in the air, would ſoon pour upon their heads. Accident ſoon produced a favorable conjuncture for precipitating France into the greateſt misfortunes. The King of Navarre, having declared himſelf openly for the Catholic party, fixed his reſidence at Paris. This city, ſituated in the centre of France, is much more populous, more rich, more magnificent and more powerful, than any other in the kingdom. This Prince, believing that the other cities would eaſily conform to the example of the capital, forgot nothing to

hinder the Hugonots from holding their aſſemblies, and preaching their ſermons there; in which the Pariſians in general, enemies of the reformation, ſeconded him with zeal. By this means he hoped in time to diminiſh inſenſibly the credit and the forces of the Proteſtants, and take away their liberty of conſcience, which alone ſupported their exiſtence. The Prince of Conde reſided alſo at Paris, where he promoted and fomented the deſigns of the Hugonot miniſters. Under the pretext of cauſing to be obſerved the edict of January, he extended from day to day the liberty of conſcience; and, whether by power or by right, arrogated to himſelf a great authority in what reſpected the State. The King of Navarre, animated equally againſt his brother by a love of repoſe, and by jealouſy, reſolved to compel him to go out of Paris. Several other motives determined him to put an end to troubles and ſeditions, as well as conventicles, in a city which was the firmeſt ſupport of the Catholic party; but whether he felt himſelf too weak to attempt ſuch an enterprize alone, or whether he wiſhed to conſult his confederates before he executed any thing, he invited the Duke of Guiſe and the Conſtable to come and join him, with their partiſans.

The Duke of Guiſe, ſince his retirement from Court, reſided at Joinville, one of his country ſeats, upon the frontiers of Champaine and Picardy. Upon the invitation of the King of Navarre, he departed for Paris, accomponied by the Cardinal his brother, a numerous retinue of gentlemen attached to his intereſts, and two companies of men in arms. The firſt of March, in the morning, as he paſſed by Vaſſi, a little city in Champaine,

Champaine, his people heard an unuſual ringing of bells, and having aſked the reaſon of it, were told that it was the ſignal of a ſermon at which the Hugonots aſſembled. The valets and footmen of the Duke, who were moſt forward on the road, excited by the ſingularity of the thing, and by curioſity to ſee one of theſe aſſemblies, which were but lately begun to be holden publicly, advanced in a tumult, uttering their coarſe jokes, towards the place where the Hugonots were aſſembled to hear their miniſters. The Calviniſts underſtanding that the Duke of Guiſe, whom they regarded as one of their moſt ardent perſecutors, was not far off, and ſeeing a troop of his people coming directly to them, whether they dreaded ſome inſult, or whether they were piqued at the rude raileries and ſcornful ſpeeches of this ſervile mob, they anſwered by acts of violence, pelting with ſtones the firſt who were advancing towards their congregation.

This is the account of Davila—and at this day it may be of as little conſequence to enquire which ſide began to uſe force, as to aſertain which party fired the firſt gun at our Lexington. When a nation is prepared for a civil war, when parties are formed and paſſions enflamed, which can be extinguiſhed no other way, it is only for the ſake of popularity, neceſſary to enquire which ſtrikes the firſt blow. But in our American revolution, we know it was the party who were in the habit of domineering who began—and ſuch is commonly the caſe. Moſt probably De Thou is in the right, for the ſame reaſon—who aſſerts, that the Duke of Guiſe's ſervants threw the firſt ſtones; and if this was done without the Duke's orders, it is certain that his mother, a bigotted

a bigotted furious Catholic, had often entreated him to deliver her from the neighbourhood of the Proteſtants of Vaſſi; and very probably ſhe had enflamed his whole family againſt them. However this might be, the Catholics abandoned all their prudence and attacked the Proteſtants, ſword in hand, and the ſkirmiſh ſoon become furious. The Duke, informed of the tumult, and wiſhing to appeaſe it, ran in all haſte and ruſhed into the midſt of the cambatants—while he repremanded his own people, and exhorted the Hugonots to retire, he was ſlightly wounded by the ſtroke of a ſtone upon his left jaw. The blood which he loſt obliged him to retire from the uproar, when his followers, growing outrageous, had recourſe to fire-arms, forced the houſe where the Calviniſts had barricadoed themſelves, killed more than ſixty of them; and their miniſter, dangerouſly wounded, eſcaped with great difficulty over the roofs of the neighbouring houſes. When the commotion was aſſuaged, the Duke of Guiſe ſent for the Judge of the place, and reprimanded him for tolerating ſuch conventicles. The Judge excuſed himſelf, becauſe theſe aſſemblies were permitted by the edict of January. The Duke, as much enraged at this anſwer as at the diſorder which occaſioned it, laid his hand on the hilt of his ſword, and replied, with great fury, "The edge of this iron ſhall ſoon deliver us from the edict which they think ſo ſolidly eſtabliſhed." Theſe words, uttered in the ardor of his indignation, did not eſcape the attention of thoſe who heard them—and in the ſequel he was accuſed of being the Boute-feu, and the author of the civil wars.

The Hugonots, irritated by the maſſacre at Vaſſi, could

could no longer contain themſelves within the bounds of moderation—not content with the exceſſes committed by them in ſeveral cities of the kingdom, and eſpecially in Paris, where they had maſſacred ſeveral Catholics, and ſet fire to the church of St. Medard; they liſtened only to their own rage, and excited every where troubles and bloody ſeditions; monaſteries were pillaged, images broken, altars overturned, and churches profaned. Theſe exceſſes, on both ſides, embittered mens' minds, and they ruſhed every where to arms. The chiefs of the two parties, agitated by the ſame motives, aſſembled their forces and prepared openly for war. But the leaders of both factions were not ignorant that, in the actual ſtate of things, they could not take arms without rendering themſelves guilty of rebellion, and that there was neither pretext nor colour which could authoriſe any meaſures which tended to war. The Catholics could not interrupt the execution of the edict of January, without controverting openly the deciſions of the council, and wounding the royal authority from which this edict had iſſued. The Hugonots had no reaſonable motive to revolt, while they were protected and allowed to enjoy the liberty of conſcience granted them by that edict. The leaders of each party deſired *to draw the King to their ſide, and to become maſters of his perſon*, either to aboliſh the edict, or to derive new advantages from it, in order to prove that their cauſe was the moſt juſt—and that it was the oppoſite party which erected the ſtandard of revolt, by oppoſing the apparent will of the Sovereign, and by attacking even his perſon.

No. 25.

THE Queen, perfectly informed of all theſe projects, and wiſhing to preſerve, with all her power, her own liberty and that of her children, continued to play off her artifices, to balance the power of the Grandees, and to prevent the aſcendency of one party over the other, from drawing after it, the ruin of the State. Thus, that ſhe might not be obliged to favor, one or the other party, ſhe quitted Paris and retired to Fontainbleau. She thought that in this reſidence, where ſhe was more at liberty, that in Paris, they could not compel her to declare herſelf, and ſhe ſtill ſtudied to ſupport her confidence, which ſhe had managed with both factions, whoſe Chiefs ſhe amuſed by equivocal diſcourſes, and ambiguous promiſes. The Prince of Condé, and Coligni, yielding to the ſuperiority of the Catholic party, had quitted Paris, to take arms. The Queen gave them ſecretly to underſtand, that ſhe was diſpoſed to join them, as ſoon as ſhe ſhould ſee them ſupported by forces ſufficient to make head againſt their enemies. On the other hand, ſhe proteſted to the King of Navarre, the Conſtable and the Duke of Guiſe, that ſhe had no intention to ſeparate herſelf from the Catholics, nor to conſent to the new reform, any further than neceſſity and the advice of good men ſhould oblige her, to grant to the Hugonots, a moderate liberty.

Her letters were not leſs ambiguous, than her words: and ſhe did not explain herſelf more clearly abroad than at home. She gave continually

tially new inſtructions to the ambaſſadors in foreign courts, and eſpecially to Delile, who reſided at Rome. Sometimes ſhe contracted and at other times ſhe extended their powers; and by theſe variations held all minds in ſuſpence. But this conduct began to be more delicate than ever. The Chiefs of the two parties. were not leſs politicians than herſelf: During the courſe of her regency they had found opportunities to unravel all her artifices, and penetrate all her diſguiſes. The King advanced in age, and that circumſtance was to them a neceſſity to haſten the execution of their deſigns. His minority might give to certain meaſures a colour, which would no longer exiſt, when he would be of age; when all ought to depend upon his will, to which they could no longer oppoſe themſelves, without the guilt of rebellion: At the preſent moment they could pretend, that their oppoſition was only to a bad adminiſtration, and the pernicious deſigns of thoſe who governed under his authority.

Already the Duke of Guiſe, more enterpriſing and more alive than the others, directed, at his pleaſure, the reſolutions of his party. He had drawn into his ſentiments the Conſtable and the King of Navarre, by perſuading them, that if they would all reſort to court, *they might bring off the King and the Queen-Mother to the capital*, and reduce them to the neceſſity of taking meaſures, and iſſuing edicts, as the Catholics ſhould judge convenient to their intereſts, without expoſing themſelves, any longer, to the danger of being anticipated, and without permitting their enemies to ſeize on the King and avail themſelves of his authority. The Prince of Condé had formed the ſame deſign: He had retired at firſt

to

to Meaux, and from thence to his eſtate, at la Ferté where he intended to aſſemble the main body of his forces. This reſolution was the effect of the advice of the Admiral, ſuggeſted by the Queen, and the projects of the Catholics, which had not eſcaped his penetration—nothing being more common in civil wars, than to diſcover the deſigns of the enemy either by the infidelity of ſome to the ſecret, or by the multitude of ſpies who are employed. The chiefs of the Catholic party had occaſion only for their ordinary retinue to execute their deſign; the neighbourhood of Paris, which was wholly devoted to them, aſſured them of ſufficient forces, and offered them favorable opportunities. On the contrary, the Prince of Condé, weaker than his enemies, and followed by few troops, was obliged to wait for the Lords of his party, and the nobility whom he had ſummoned from ſeveral provinces, who aſſembled but ſlowly. Thus the Catholics were before-hand, by appearing all well attended at the Court.

Their unforeſeen arrival diſconcerted not the Queen. Although ſhe depended little on the ſucceſs of her intrigues, ſhe exerted herſelf to perſuade the King of Navarre to depart from Court, with the Princes and Lords who had accompanied him. "No man is ignorant," ſaid ſhe to him, "that the Catholic Lords would take advantage of my weakneſs, and that of my ſon, to compel us, to regulate the State, according to their inclinations, by governing at the will of their ambition and private intereſts. This conduct, directly oppoſite to the principles of honour and of fidelity, of which they boaſt, is not leſs contrary to the tranquility and the conſervation

ſervation of the State, which they pretend to have alone in view. "To iſſue new edicts, and revoke thoſe which have been publiſhed, is it not to put arms into the hands of the Hugonots? Theſe ſectaries, already ſo audacious and ſo ready to revolt, will complain aloud of injuſtice, if we annul, without reaſon, an edict prepared and accepted with the conſent of both parties. During the minority of the King, we ought to avoid war, and the troubles inſeparable from it, to the utmoſt of our care and power. To whom will the nation impute the diſaſters which will overwhelm it? Will not an eternal infamy be the portion of thoſe who have the principal ſhare in government? It was to avoid theſe dangers, and to take away all pretexts from the incendiaries, that I ſubſcribed to the edict of January, and quitted the capital. The moſt effectual means of irritating the violence of an evil, which as yet is only creeping on ſecretly, would be to carry us into a ſuſpected city, and repeal an edict already publiſhed. The King of Navarre, and the Catholic Princes, ought to remember, that it belongs only to the flagitious, whoſe fortune is uncertain or deſperate, to excite civil wars. The Prince commands without contradiction. The Lords of his party, loaded with riches, dignities, employments and honors, enjoy the moſt flouriſhing fortune. Can they envy the people an imaginary and momentary liberty? Let them ſuffer the King to arrive at his majority, without ſeeing his kingdom diſtracted with war. Forced by neceſſity, I have only pardoned faults, which I could not puniſh—nor have I granted to the Hugonots other liberty than that which they had uſurped. It is only by management that we can cure the people of this

phrenzy. Let the Catholic Chiefs then arm themſelves with patience, for fear that, by raſh remedies, they may envenom an evil which may draw after it fatal revolutions, and the moſt melancholly events. If however you are reſolved to make any alteration in the edict, it ought only to be done by inſenſible degrees, and by the favor of ſuitable opportunities and conjunctures. To employ violent means, would be to furniſh the ſeditious with pretexts, which they ſeek with ſo much ardour."

No. 26.

THESE reaſons of the Queen, urged and repeated with energy, would have ſtaggered the King of Navarre, and perhaps the Conſtable, if the Duke of Guiſe would have liſtened to them. But he wiſhed for war—by the favor of which he flattered himſelf, he ſhould recover and even increaſe his ancient power. Moreover, in quality of Chief, and Protector of the Catholic party, he wiſhed to annul, by any means whatever, all that had been done againſt his inclination, to the prejudice of the Church—and to arrogate to himſelf all the glory of ſuch a revolution. He combatted therefore, with vivacity, all the reaſons of the Queen, and remonſtrated to his confederates, that they would infallibly loſe all their credit and reputation, by ſuffering themſelves to be ſo eaſily amuſed by a woman, who had no other

other deſign than to throw herſelf into the arms of the oppoſite party as ſoon as they, from a blind confidence in her words, ſhould depart from Court. "Nothing" added the Duke, "will be more prejudicial to our cauſe, nor more infamous for us, than to avow that it is neither the public good, nor the maintenance of the Royal Authority, but private paſſions and perſonal intereſts, which have put us in motion. It will be believed, that the remorſe of our conſciences, has obſtructed us, in the purſuit of our enterpriſe. The artificial diſcourſes of the Queen, ought not to prevail with us, to abandon a reſolution, maturely weighed, and taken by concert, nor to interrupt the execution of a project, dictated by reaſon, preſcribed by honor, and commanded by that attachment, which we have profeſſed to religion whoſe preſervation and intereſt, have chiefly determined us to this meaſure. It is no longer the ſeaſon to delay, and to waſte time in diſputes. Already the Prince of Condé is advancing in arms—the forces of the Hugonots are aſſembled—they are ready *to ſeize on the perſon of the King, if we do not haſten to place him in a ſituation of ſafety—and ſince we cannot terminate this affair by perſuaſion, let us not be intimidated from employing force: Let us take away the King*, and leave the Queen to take the part which ſhe ſhall judge moſt convenient. The reſolutions of this Princeſs are of little moment to us, as ſoon as we ſhall be ſupported by the preſence of our lawful Sovereign, aided by the authority of the firſt Prince of the blood, to whom, by right of birth belongs the government of the kingdom."

The Prince of Condé, united with the Colignis and other Lords of his party, approached the Court.

Court. The Conſtable, and the King of Navarre, perſuaded by the Duke of Guiſe, gave the Queen to underſtand, that it was neceſſary to take her reſolution, without loſs of time; that for themſelves, they had reſolved to conduct to Paris, the King and his brothers, for fear they ſhould fall into the hands of the Hugonots, who, according to intelligence, were not far diſtant. That they would not abandon their maſter to the mercy of hereticks, who intended to take him away, in order to make an ill uſe of his name, and undermine the foundations of the monarchy. That there was no time to be loſt, or trifled away.—*That they ſhould conduct the King to Paris, as their own honor, and the good of the ſtate required:* That as to herſelf, they pretended not to conſtrain her in any thing; but ſhould leave her, with all the reſpect that was due to her, at liberty to diſpoſe of her perſon, as ſhe ſhould think fit. The Queen was not aſtoniſhed at this declaration, bold and ſudden as it was. She had foreſeen it, and determined, beforehand, on her plan, in ſuch a ſituation. Forced to declare herſelf, altho ſhe foreſaw that the two parties would ſoon come to blows, ſhe would not abandon the Catholic party. She pretended that her honor, and her reaſon, attached her to it; She imagined ſhe ſaw her ſafety, and that of her children in it. Taking therefore in an inſtant her reſolution, ſhe anſwered, with her uſual preſence of mind, that no perſon was more attached than herſelf to the Catholic religion, nor more zealous for the good of the State—That ſhe would, upon this occaſion, give way to their ſentiments—and ſince they were all for quitting Fontainbleau, ſhe would concur with them.

With

With the utmeſt promptitude ſhe gave orders for their departure; but at the ſame time ſhe wrote to the Prince of Condé a letter, in which ſhe lamented, that ſhe could not commit herſelf, and the perſon of the King, into the hands of his partizans, according to the promiſe ſhe had made him: That the Catholics had prevented them, by conducting them by force to Paris: That, provided he did not loſe his courage, ſhe exhorted him not to ſuffer his enemies to take poſſeſſion of the whole authority of government. She then commenced her journey, with the King and her other children, ſurrounded by the Triumvirate, and the other Catholic Lords, who to conſole her, treated her with great reſpect and honor. She arrived that evening at Melun, the next day at Vincennes, and in the morning of the third day at Paris. Many perſons obſerved the young King in tears, thinking the Catholic Lords had deprived him of his liberty. The Queen, irritated by the ill-ſucceſs of her artifices, and foreſeeing the calamities of an inevitable war, diſcovered, during the whole journey, a mournful and mortified air and countenance. The Duke of Guiſe was ſo little affected with this, that he ſaid freely and openly, that the *public good was a public good, whether it was obtained by conſent or by force.*

The Prince of Condé was informed, upon his march, of the departure of the King, and perceiving himſelf either prevented by the Catholics, or deceived by the Queen, made a halt, and remained ſome time undecided, what courſe he ſhould take. The terrible picture of thoſe dangers which threatened him, preſented itſelf in lively colours before his eyes; but the Admiral, who had

had remained a little in the rear, arriving, they conferred together a few minutes, and the Prince, with a profound ſigh cried out, "The die is caſt, we are too far advanced to retreat." He took immediately another road, and marched with rapidity towards Orleans, of which, he had for ſometime reſolved to take poſſeſſion. This city, one of the principal of the Kingdom, about thirty leagues from Paris, is vaſt, well built, and very populous; it is ſituated in the province of Beauce almoſt in the middle of France upon the banks of the Loire, a large navigable river, which after having watered ſeveral provinces, falls into the ocean in Brittany. Orleans, by its navigation, and its facility of communication with ſeveral other provinces, appeared to the Prince very proper for a place of arms and the center of his party, and to be oppoſed in ſome ſort, to Paris.

For ſeveral months, that he had meditated to make himſelf maſter of this city, he had entertained a ſecret intelligence with ſome of the inhabitants, inclined to the doctrines of Calvin, whom he employed to engage a great part of the young men, who were reſtleſs, ſeditious and greedy of novelties. As it is not intended to relate in detail, the whole of this hiſtory, it is ſufficient to ſay, that he got poſſeſſion of Orleans, that the two parties publiſhed manifeſtos, and that chicanery, negociations, battles, ſieges, conflagrations and aſſaſſinations, ſucceeded in all their uſual train of horrors in civil wars.

No.

No. 27.

WE ſhall now content ourſelves with reciting the ſummary of this firſt civil war. After the publication of declarations and manifeſtoes, the two armies took the field. The Queen-mother wiſhes to avoid a war, and procure peace: She negociates an interview for this purpoſe with the Prince of Condé, but without ſucceſs: She continues however to negociate an accommodation, and obtains a concluſion of it. The Prince repents of it, by the perſuaſion of his partizans, and reſumes his arms. He attempts in the night to ſurprize the royal army: His enterprize ſucceeds not. The King receives powerful reinforcements from Germany and Switzerland. The Prince of Condé is obliged to ſhut himſelf up in Orleans, and ſeparate his army, which he could not hold together in a body. He ſends to demand ſuccours in Germany and England, and conſents to deliver Havre de Grace to the Engliſh, and receive their garriſons into Rouen and Dieppe. The Queen, irritated and afflicted at theſe reſolutions, joins the Catholic party, and declares the Hugonots, rebels. The royal army takes Blois, Tours, Poitiers, and Bourges. The 15th of Sept. 1562, it lays ſiege to Rouen—in the courſe of which, the King of Navarre, viſiting the trenches to reconnoitre the ſtate of the place, was wounded in the left ſhoulder, by a ſhot of an Arquebuſe, which broke the bone, wounded the nerves, and felled him to the ground as if he was dead. He was carried immediately to his quarters,

quarters, where all the other generals aſſembled. The ſurgeons who dreſſed his wounds, in the preſence of the King and Queen, judged it mortal, becauſe the ball had penetrated too far, into the body.

The 26th of October 1562, the city was carried by aſſault, and the whole army entered, making a horrible carnage of the garriſon and inhabitants, by putting to the ſword, without any quarter, all who preſented themſelves armed or unarmed: The city was delivered up to be plundered, except the churches and conſecrated things, which the ſoldiers were made to reſpect, by the vigilance and good diſcipline of the generals.

The King of Navarre, ſufferiug under the pains of his wound, and wounded in ſpirit almoſt as much as in body, inſiſted on embarking on the Seine, to be tranſported to Saint Maur, a pleaſure-houſe near Paris, where he often went to take the air, and enjoy the tranquility of ſolitude. He ſcarce arrived at Andeli, a few leagues from Rouen, when his fever was augmented by the agitation of the batteau, he loſt his ſenſes, and died in a few hours. He united to his high birth, an elegant perſon, and a ſoftneſs of manners: If he had lived in other times, and under a better conſtitution of government, he might have been reckoned among the greateſt Princes of his age; but the candor and ſincerity of his heart, the ſweetneſs and affability of his diſpoſition, in the midſt of political troubles, and civil diſſentions, ſerved only to hold him in continual agitation and inquietude. Inconſtant in his projects, and uncertain in his reſolutions—drawn away on one ſide by the impetuous character of his brother, and excited by the party of the Calviniſts,

viniſts, in which he long held the firſt rank—reſtrained on the other hand by motives of honor, as he thought, by his natural inclination for peace, and averſion for civil wars, he diſcovered on many occaſions but little firmneſs or conſtancy in his deſigns. Placed in the number of thoſe, who lay under the reputation of ſeeking to diſturb the ſtate, he ſhared in their diſgrace—and he was ſeen afterwards, at the head of the oppoſite party, perſecuting thoſe, whom he had formerly protected. In point of religion, ſometimes allured to Calviniſm, by the perſuaſions of his wife, and the diſcourſes of Theodore Beza—and ſometimes brought back to the Catholic faith, by the torrent of faſhion, and the eloquence of the Cardinal of Lorraine, he gained the confidence of neither party, and left in his dying moments, ſuſpicious and equivocal ideas of his creed. Many thought, that, though he was in his heart attached to Calviniſm, or rather to the confeſſion of Augſburg, he ſeparated from the Hugonots from ſecret views of ambition—and ſuffering impatiently that the Prince his brother, by his valor and greatneſs of ſoul had acquired among them more eſteem than himſelf, he choſe rather to hold the firſt rank among the Catholics than the ſecond among the Calviniſts. He died at the age of forty-two, in a time when his prudence, increaſing with age, he might perhaps have ſurpaſſed the opinion which had been conceived of him. Jane of Albret, his widow, continued in poſſeſſion of the title of Queen, and of what remained of Navarre. She had two children, Henry, Prince of Bearn, then nine years of age, and afterwards the all-glorious Henry the Fourth of France, and the Princeſs Catharine, then very

young. Their mother lived with them at Pau and at Nerac, ſuperviſing their education in the new religion.

The Prince of Conde, reinforced by the auxiliary forces from Germany, makes haſte to attack Paris. The King and Queen return thither with their army, and after various negociations the Prince is conſtrained to depart. The two armies march towards Normandy—a memorable battle is fought at Dreue, where the Prince of Conde is made priſoner by the Catholics, and the Conſtable by the Hugonots. In the firſt onſet of this action, Gabriel of Montmorency, the ſon of the Conſtable, had been killed, the Comte of Rochefort had been thrown from his horſe, and loſt his life, and the catholics, in ſpite of all their bravery, began to give way. The German cavalry armed with piſtols, and divided into two large ſquadrons, having joined the Admiral in this critical moment, made a freſh charge with ſuch fury, that they broke the Catholics, and forced them to fly. The Conſtable who fought in this place with great bravery, exerted himſelf in vain to ſtop and rally the fugitives: His horſe fell under him, and he was wounded in the left arm, ſurrounded by the Germans, and made priſoner, after having ſeen periſh at his ſide, the Duke of Nevers, and ſeveral other officers of diſtinction.

The Prince of Conde, in charging the cavalry of the Duke of Guiſe, was afterwards wounded in his right hand, and covered over with blood, and duſt and ſweat, was made priſoner by Daniville, who, wiſhing to avenge the capture of his father, fought with deſperation. The Duke of Guiſe remained maſter of the field of battle, the baggage and artillery of his enemy. The Prince of

of Conde was brought into the preſence of his conqueror, and it was a memorable ſcene to ſee thoſe two famous men, whom paſt events, and eſpecially the laſt battle, had rendered implacable enemies, reconciled at once by the caprice of fortune, ſup at the ſame table, and for want of other lodgings, and better accommodations, paſs the night in profound ſleep, on the ſame bed.

Thoſe who firſt fled from this action, carried to Paris the firſt news of the defeat and captivity of the Conſtable, and threw the Court into deep mourning and great inquietudes. They were diſſipated however, a few hours afterwards, by the Captain of the King's guards being diſpatched by the Duke of Guiſe. The news which he ſpread, and the aſſurances which he gave of the victory gained by the Catholics, diminiſhed the grief cauſed by the death of ſo many brave men, whoſe loſs had put all France in mourning. Beſides the Lords and Knights, of diſtinguiſhed nobility and reputation, they reckoned eight thouſand men among the ſlain. The Duke of Guiſe acquired a glory without bounds by this victory, which gave a great check to the Hugonots. The King and Queen declared him General of the army, and he took the rout to Orleans, that he might not leave his enemy the time to repair their loſſes.

No.

No. 28.

THE ſiege and defence of Orleans, may be a good lecture on the military art, but is not directly to our purpoſe, which at preſent is only to relate the fortunes and cataſtrophes of the great actors in thoſe ſcenes of emulation, which have been before deſcribed. There was in the party of the Hugonots, a gentleman, named Poltrot, of an active mind and a deſigning character. He had lived ſome years in Spain; and having afterwards embraced Calviniſm, and reſided ſome time at Geneva, he diſcovered ſo much zeal for his new faith, and entered with ſo much zeal into all the intrigues of the party, that the Calviniſts in general conſidered him, as a perſonage capable of attempting in their favor the moſt hazardous enterprizes. It is not one of the leaſt evils of a civil war, that no man's character is ſecure againſt ſuſpicions and imputations of the moſt enormous crimes. It is almoſt the univerſal practice for each party to charge the leaders of the other, with every baſe action, every ſiniſter event, and every high handed wickedneſs, without much conſideration or enquiry, whether there is truth, or evidence, or even color to ſupport the accuſation. The Catholics pretended that the Admiral and Theodore Beza, engaged Poltrot to aſſaſſinate the Duke of Guiſe, by promiſes of great rewards, and by perſuading him that he could do nothing more acceptable to God, than to deliver his people from their moſt cruel perſecutors. Poltrot yielding to their inſtigations,

tions, pretended to have abandoned the Calviniſt party, and threw himſelf into the royal army, where having inſinuated himſelf into the houſe of the Duke of Guiſe, he watched for a favorable moment to execute his deſign. The 24th of February, 1513, the Duke after having given his orders for an aſſault which he intended to make the next day, at the bridge of Orleans, returned at night to his quarters about a league diſtant from the trenches; Poltrot, mounted on a Spaniſh horſe, very fleet, waited for him, on his paſſage, and ſeeing him accompanied, only by a gentleman of the Queen, with whom he was cloſely engaged in converſation, he ſhot him in the back, with an arquebuſe, loaded with three balls. The Duke was without arms, the three balls ſtruck him under the right ſhoulder and pierced him through the body; he fell from his horſe for dead. His gentlemen, who marched before, that they might not interrupt his converſation, returned, at this accident, and carried him to his lodgings, where as ſoon as they had examined his wound, his life was deſpaired of. The King, the Queen Mother and all the Lords in the army, at the news of ſo fatal a diſaſter, haſtened to the Duke's lodgings; but all their cares and remedies were uſeleſs; he died in three days, with great ſentiments, ſays Davila, of piety and religion, diſcovering in his diſcourſes a greatneſs of ſoul and a moderation moſt admirable. This Prince, united with the higheſt valor and ſingular abilities, a conſummate prudence. As profound in council, as active in execution, he always ſaw his deſigns crowned with the happieſt ſucceſs. Theſe qualities had procured him the reputation of the firſt Captain of his age, and his exploits

exploits merited the title of the defender and protector of the Catholic religion. He left a name glorious and celebrated to posterity, *tarnished however to endless ages with the just imputation of intolerance.*

Poltrot had escaped into a neighboring forest; but tortured by the remorse of his conscience, and by the terror of being pursued on all sides, he wandered all night in the woods, without being able to find the road to Orleans. The next morning, exhausted by fatigue, he was arrested by some Swiss guards and led to the Queen and the principal officers of the army. He alternately accused and acquitted, both on the rack and at his execution, the Admiral and Theodore Beza, who published declarations throughout all Europe, denying in the most solemn manner, their knowledge of the design of Poltrot. The court hastened the execution of this monster, before an opportunity had been given to confront and examine him, as the Admiral requested, by quartering him between four horses. The consequence was that the suspicion was fastened, on these two austere and excellent characters, in the minds of the Catholic party, though they have been uniformly acquitted by the whole impartial world. In consequence of the prejudices of the Catholics, the children of the Duke of Guise preserved a cruel resentment, and took a horrible revenge.

The death of the Duke of Guise was followed by a general peace—and the Royal Army retakes Havre de Grace from the English. The King arrives at his fourteenth year, and is declared of age. The Queen's inventive genius imagines various means of appeasing the discontented Princes;

ces; and to accompliſh her deſigns, travels with the King through all the provinces of the kingdom. In Dauphiny they contrived an interview with the Duke of Savoy; at Avignon, with the Miniſters of the Pope; and on the frontiers of Guienne with the King and Queen of Spain. To theſe Princes they might communicate their ſecret deſigns, without apprehenſion of their coming to the knowledge of the Hugonots, which would have been almoſt inevitable, if they had employed Ambaſſadors. The Queen, with her uſual diſſimulation, endeavored to prevent the public from ſuſpecting her genuine deſign, and ſecret views. She pretended that it was a ſimple deſire in the King to ſee his kingdom, and ſhow himſelf to his people. The Queen pretended to conſent to it only to diſplay before the eyes of the people the magnificence of her court, and to ſee her daughter the Queen of Spain. Under the veil of theſe appearances, ſo different from the truth, nothing was ſeen but magnificent preparations and ſumptuous liveries—nothing was talked of but huntings, balls, comedies and feaſts. The interviews and intrigues in the courſe of their journey with the Dukes of Lorrain, of Wirtemberg, and other Chiefs of the Proteſtants or Catholics in Germany; the Count Palatine, the Duke of Deux Ponts, the Duke of Saxony, and Marquis of Baden, the Duke of Savoy, and the Miniſters of the Pope, we paſs over. In 1565, at Bayonne, they met the Queen of Spain, accompanied with the Duke of Alva and the Count de Benevent: While they pretended to be there wholly employed in feaſts and pleaſures, they held ſecret councils in concert, to aboliſh the diverſity of religion. The Duke of Alva,

Alva, a man of a violent character, whoſe very name, as well as that of the Cardinal de Lorrain, is aſſociated in every mind with bloody bigotry and anti-chriſtian intolerance, ſaid boldly, that to cut the root of all novelties in matters of religion, it was neceſſary to "cut off the heads of the poppies"—"To angle for the large fiſh—not amuſe themſelves with the frogs"—"When the winds ſhall ceaſe to blow, the waves of the populace will ſoon be calmed." Theſe are the miſerable maxims of tyranny, whether it be exerciſed by a ſingle man or a multitude. "There is no difference," according to Ariſtotle, and hiſtory and experience, "between a people governing by a majority in a ſingle aſſembly, and a Monarch in a tyranny; for their manners are the ſame, and they both hold a deſpotic power over better perſons than themſelves. Their decrees are like the other's edicts—their demagogues like the other's flatterers."—*Ariſtotle's Politics* Lib. 4. ch. 4.

Old Tarquin would not utter theſe maxims in words to the meſſenger of his ſon from Gabii, but walked out into his garden and ſtruck off the heads of the talleſt poppies with his ſtaff. With no better authority than theſe trite aphoriſms of deſpotiſm, did the Duke of Alva ſupport his dogmatiſm, that a Sovereign could do nothing more ſhameful or contrary to his intereſts, than to grant to his ſubjects liberty of conſcience, and his advice to employ [redacted] ſword, to exterminate the Chiefs of the Hugonots.

No.

No. 29.

THE Queen-Mother had either more hypocriſy, or more ſoftneſs of temper, or more cunning. She was for eſſaying all means of alluring the Chiefs of the Hugonots to the boſom of the Church, and their obedience to the King.

The differences of circumſtances, of manners, of intereſts and characters, as uſual, divided their ſentiments, and, cauſing them to look at things on different ſides, dictated oppoſite reſolutions. The two Kings however take meaſures in concert to ſuppr[illegible] rebellions. The Queen of Navarre [illegible]es to [illegible]urt. The King engages the family Ch[illegible]ons to a reconciliation with that of [illegible]. Their reciprocal hatreds ſoon rekindle[illegible]ut afreſh. The Queen of Navarre [illegible]its the court.

[illegible]f the Duke of Alva was conformable to the temper and character of this King. [illegible]e highly reliſhed the ſentiment of the Duke of Alva; that the heads of thoſe rebels muſt be high in the State. The four families of Bourbon, Montmorency, Guiſe and Chatillion, [illegible]ated by other ſubordinate families depending on them, continue their emulations, factions, hatreds, envies, oppoſitions, intrigues, ma[illegible]s, combinations, decompoſitions, tergiverſations: Another civil war breaks out, the hiſtory of which with its cauſes and events, we ſhall leave the reader to read in detail. In 1567, at the battle of Saint Dennis, the Conſtable de Montmorency, in ſpight of five wounds he had received

received in the head and face, fought with extreme valor, endeavors to rally his troops, and lead them on to battle, when Robert Stuart, a Scot, came up to him and preſenting to him a piſtol, the Conſtable ſaid to him, "you are ignorant then that I am the Conſtable." "It is becauſe I know you, ſaid Stuart, that I preſent you this," and at the ſame time ſhot him in the ſhoulder with his own piſtol; although the violence of the blow ſtruck down the Conſtable, he had ſtill ſtrength enough left to ſtrike Stuart in the face with the hilt of his ſword, which remained in his hand, though the blade was broken, with ſuch force as broke his jaw, beat out three of his teeth and brought him down by his ſide half dead. The Hugonots were defeated however, but the next day the Conſtable died at the age of foreſcore, after having ſhewn in the action as much enterprize, bravery and vigor as if he had been in the full ſtrength of his youth. He preſerved to his laſt moment, an admirable firmneſs and preſence of mind; a prieſt approached his bed, to prepare him for death; the Conſtable turned to him with a ſerene countenance, and prayed to be left in repoſe—adding, it would be ſhameful for him to have lived eighty years, without learning to die for half an hour. His wiſdom, his rare prudence, and long experience in affairs procured for him and his family immenſe riches, and the firſt employments under the crown: But he was always ſo unfortunate in the command of armies, that in all the enterprizes where he had the command in chief, he was either beaten, or wounded, or made priſoner.

The Calviniſtic army retired into Champaine, and afterwards into Lorrain to meet the troops they

they expected from Germany. The Queen, whom the death of the Conſtable had now delivered from the power and ambition of the Grandees, and who remained the ſingle arbiter of the Catholic party, would no longer expoſe herſelf to the dangers of an unlimited power by adviſing the King to name another Conſtable or General of the army. She judged more proper to reſerve to the diſpoſition of the King and in her own power, the whole authority of the command. She therefore perſuaded Charles, by many reaſons, to place at the head of his army, the Duke of Anjou, his brother, a young Prince of great hopes, but who was not yet ſixteen years of age. The army is reinforced by ſuccours ſent from Flanders by the King of Spain, and from Piedmont, and many other places. The Duke of Anjou follows the Hugonots, to give them battle before their junction with the Germans. He overtakes them near Chalons: But the miſunderſtandings and other obſtacles excited in his council, hinder him from hazarding a battle. The Calviniſts paſs the Meuſe and form a junction with the auxiliary troops commanded by the Prince Caſſimir. They return into Champaine. The Queen goes to the army to extinguiſh the diviſions that reign there. They take the reſolution not to attack the Hugonots, now become too formidable: but to draw out the war, into length; marches off the two armies, ſatisfied with obſerving each other's motions. This Fabian ſyſtem of the Catholics diſconcerts the Prince of Condé and the Admiral, unprovided with money to ſupport, for any length of time, their army. In order to draw the royal army to battle they form the ſiege of Chartres. The danger of that city

city gives occaſion to new propoſitions of peace: Indeed a peace is concluded and the two armies are ſeparated; but the Hugonots did not ſurrender all the places they were maſters of, nor did the King diſcharge his Swiſs or Italian troops—which occaſion new quarrels.

The court, ſeeing that the Hugonots did not execute the conditions under which they had been promiſed an oblivion of the paſt, attempts to take off the Prince of Conde and the Admiral, who had retired well accompanied, to Noyers in Burgundy. They are advertiſed of their danger and eſcape to Rochell, reaſſemble their forces, and make themſelves maſters of Saintonge, Poitou and Tourdine. The King orders the Duke of Anjou to march againſt them. The two armies meet at Janſeneuil, without engaging: they meet again at Loudun; the rigor of the ſeaſon prevents a battle. The exceſſive cold obliges them to march at a diſtance from each other. Diſtempers break out in both armies and carry off vaſt numbers. They open the next campaign in the month of March. The Hugonots paſs the Charente, break down the bridges, and guard all the paſſages The Duke of Anjou, by the means of a ſtratagem, paſſes the river. The battle of Jarnac enſues. On the ſixteenth of March, 1569, this famous action, ſo fatal to the Proteſtant cauſe and to liberty of conſcience in France, as to have annihilated, or at leaſt to have oppreſſed both for two hundred and fifty years, took place. The young Duke of Guiſe diſtinguiſhed himſelf on that day, by attacking the left wing of the Calvaniſts, commanded by the Admiral and Dandilot at the head of the nobility of Britanny and Normandy, and gave proofs of a courage, and talents

talents capable of performing as much good, or committing as much evil as his father had done.

The Prince of Condé, who commanded the main body, oppoſed to the Duke of Anjou, ſupported with intrepidity the ſhock of the enemy, and when abandoned by his right and left, charged on all ſides by the conquerors and ſurrounded by a whole world of enemies, he and thoſe who accompanied him, fought with deſperation. In arranging his ſquadrons, he had been wounded in the leg by a kick of the Duke de la Rochefoucault's horſe, and in the combat his own was killed and overthrown upon him. This Prince, thus dangerouſly wounded, put one knee to the ground and continued to fight, until Monteſquiou, Captain of the guards of the Duke of Anjou, ſhot him through the head with a piſtol. Robert Stuart, who had killed the Conſtable at the battle of St. Dennis, and almoſt all the gentlemen of Poitou and Saintonge, were cut in pieces, by the ſide of the Prince.

The Duke of Anjou, fought in the firſt ranks of his ſquadron with a valor above his years, had an horſe killed under him, and ran great riſques of his life. The Hugonots loſt near ſeven hundred noblemen or knights of diſtinction. The ſoldiers, in deriſion, with ſcoffs and inſults, bro't the body of the Prince of Condé upon an aſs or pack-horſe to the Duke of Anjou at Jarnac.

L'an mil cinq cens ſoixante & neuf
Entre Jarnac & Chateau—neuf
Fut porté mort ſur une ăneſſe,
Le grand ennemi de la Meſſe.

Young Henry, Prince of Navarre, begged the body of the Duke of Anjou, who ſent it to Vendome

he Queen of Navarre, after having approved
e views of the Admiral, aſſembled the troops;
e ſpoke to them with a firmneſs above her ſex,
d exhorted all thoſe brave warriors to continue
nſtant and united, for the defence of their lib-
ty and their religion. She propoſed to them
r Chiefs the two young Princes, who were pre-
nt, and whoſe noble air intereſted the ſpecta-
rs; adding, that, under the auſpices of theſe
vo young ſhoots from the royal blood, they
ght to hope for the moſt happy ſucceſs to the
ſt pretenſions of the common cauſe. This diſ-
urſe animated the courage of the army, who
peared to forget in an inſtant the chagrin
uſed by the loſs of the battle, and by the diſ-
ntions which had followed it. The Admiral
d the Earl of Rochefoucault were the firſt to
bmit, and to take an oath of fidelity to the
rinces of Bourbon; the nobility and all the offi-
rs did the ſame, and the ſoldiers, with great
clamations, applauded the choice which their
enerals had made of the Princes for *Chiefs and*

itſelf in the grandeur and elevation of the Admiral, was conſiderably weakened. But Coligni ſurmounted all obſtacles by his addreſs—he began by renouncing in appearance thoſe chimerical titles with which a vain ambition would have been ſatisfied, propoſing however, in fact, to preſerve all the authority of the command. He reſolved to declare Chiefs of the party and Generals of the army, Henry Prince of Navarre, and Henry Prince of Condé, ſon of the deceaſed Prince. During the childhood of theſe, the Admiral remained neceſſarily charged with the conduct and adminiſtration of all affairs of importance. It was, among Proteſtants, as well as Catholics, in the cauſe of liberty as well as that of tyranny, the only means of repreſſing the ambition and pretenſions, the envy, jealouſly, malignity and perfidy of the grandees; the only means of anſwering the expectations of the people, and of uniting minds which the diverſity of ſentiment had already very much divided.

In this reſolution, without demanding what he felt, he could not obtain—The Admiral intreated the Queen of Navarre to come to the army, repreſenting to her that the moment was arrived for elevating the Prince her ſon to that degree of grandeur for which he was born, and to which ſhe had long aſpired. The Queen was not wanting in courage or fortitude: already reſolved at all hazards to declare her ſon the head of the party, ſhe came with all the diligence which a ſtroke of ſo much importance required, and appeared with the two Princes at the camp at Cognac. Diſcord reigned in the army, notwithſtanding the neceſſity of union and unanimity, to ſuch a degree that it was on the point of diſbanding.

The

The Queen of Navarre, after having approved the views of the Admiral, aſſembled the troops; ſhe ſpoke to them with a firmneſs above her ſex, and exhorted all thoſe brave warriors to continue conſtant and united, for the defence of their liberty and their religion. She propoſed to them for Chiefs the two young Princes, who were preſent, and whoſe noble air intereſted the ſpectators; adding, that, under the auſpices of theſe two young ſhoots from the royal blood, they ought to hope for the moſt happy ſucceſs to the juſt pretenſions of the common cauſe. This diſcourſe animated the courage of the army, who appeared to forget in an inſtant the chagrin cauſed by the loſs of the battle, and by the diſſentions which had followed it. The Admiral and the Earl of Rochefoucault were the firſt to ſubmit, and to take an oath of fidelity to the Princes of Bourbon; the nobility and all the officers did the ſame, and the ſoldiers, with great acclamations, applauded the choice which their Generals had made of the Princes for *Chiefs and protectors of the reformed religion.* This in human imaginations is conſidered, and in human language is called, DIGNITY! The greateſt Stateſman, and the greateſt General of his age, muſt reſign the command of his own army, even in the cauſe of religion, virtue and liberty, to two beardleſs boys, becauſe they had more wealth, and better blood.

Henry of Bourbon, Prince of Navarre, aged 15, had however a lively ſpirit, a great and generous ſoul, and diſcovered a decided inclination for war: animated by the councils of his mother, he accepted without heſitation the command of the army, and promiſed the Hugonots, in a conciſe

conciſe military eloquence, to protect their religion, and to perſevere in the common cauſe, until death or victory ſhould procure them liberty. The Prince of Condé, whoſe tender age permitted not to expreſs his ſentiments, marked his conſent only by his geſtures. Thus the Prince of Navarre, who joined to the ſuperiority of age the prerogative of firſt Prince of the blood, became really the head of the party. In memory of this event, the Queen Jane cauſed medals of gold to be ſtruck, which repreſented on one ſide her own buſt, on the other that of her ſon, with this inſcription—PAX CERTA, VICTORIA INTEGRA, MORS HONESTA—*A ſafe peace, compleat victory, or honorable death.*

Coligni remains charged with the conduct of the war, by reaſon of the youth of the Princes—he divides his troops, and throws them into the cities which adhered to him. The Duke of Anjou purſues his victory, and forms the ſiege of Cognac, which he is obliged however to raiſe, by the vigorous reſiſtance of the beſieged: he takes ſeveral other cities. A new army of Germans, commanded by the Duke of Deux Ponts, enters France to aſſiſt the Hugonots. Wolfang of Bavaria, Duke of Deux Ponts, excited by the money and the promiſes of the Hugonots, with the aid of the Duke of Saxony and the Count Palatine of the Rhine, at the ſolicitation of the Queen of England, had raiſed an army of 6000 infantry, and 8000 horſe. In the ſame army was William of Naſſau, Prince of Orange, and Louis and Henry his brothers, who, after having quitted Flanders, to avoid the cruelty of the Duke of Alva, ſupported the intereſts of the Calviniſts of France, whoſe religion they profeſſed. This ar-

my marches towards the Loire, takes La Charite, and paſſes the river. The Duke of Deux Ponts dies of a fever, and is ſucceeded in command by Count Mansfield. The Princes, and their Mentor the Admiral, march to meet this ſuccour. The Duke of Anjou, for fear of being ſurrounded by theſe two armies, retires into Limouſin. The Hugonots, combined with their allies, follow the royal army. A ſpirited action at Roche-Abeille. The ſterility of the country forces the Hugonots to retire. The Queen-Mother comes to the camp. The reſolution is taken to ſeparate the royal army, to leave the forces of the Hugonots to conſume by time: it is ſéparated, in fact, and the Duke of Anjou retires to Roches in Touraine.

No. 30.

THE Hugonots lay ſiege to Poitiers. The Duke of Guiſe reſolves to throw himſelf into it to ſuccour the garriſon. This young Prince, the object of the hopes of the Catholics, propoſed to himſelf to become one day their chief, by imitating thus, at the beginning of his career, by an illuſtrious and memorable example, the glory of his father; who, by the defence of Metz againſt the forces of the Emperor Charles the Vth. had prepared his way to the higheſt power and moſt brilliant reputation.

The Duke of Anjou propoſes to raiſe the ſiege by a diverſion—he aſſembles his army, and leads it to Chatelleraud. The Admiral raiſes the ſiege of

of Poitiers, and obliges the Duke of Anjou to raiſe that of Chatelleraud. The Duke of Guiſe, however, by his activity in defence of Poitiers, and his frequent ſallies, came out of it covered with glory and applauſe; the whole Catholic party began to conſider him as the ſupport of religion, and the worthy ſucceſſor of the power of his father. Sanſac in vain lays ſiege to la Charite. The Earl of Montgomery defeats the Royaliſts in Bearn, ſurrounds Terſide, and takes him priſoner. The Duke of Anjou comes to Tours, to conſult with the King his brother, and the Queen-Mother: The Duke of Guiſe came there alſo, ſhining with honor and glory for the great actions by which he had ſignalized himſelf at the defence of Poitiers. They all deliberated on the means of puſhing the war, and the Duke of Guiſe, coming in the place of his father, was then admitted for the firſt time into the ſecret council: he owed this favor to the ſplendor of his birth, to the ſervices of his father, to his own valor, to the protection of the Cardinal of Lorrain his uncle, but above all to the implacable hatred which the King had conceived againſt the Admiral. After the death of the Prince of Condé, at the battle of Baſſac, Charles had entertained hopes that the Calviniſtical party, no longer ſupported by the authority of a Prince of the blood, nor of a General capable by his reputation and his valor of ſupporting the weight of ſo great an enterprize, would ſeparate and diſperſe, or at leaſt incline to ſubmit. But he ſaw, on the contrary, that the policy of the Admiral had reanimated the forces of his party; that his valor and his ability, by availing himſelf of the name of the two young Princes of the blood royal, had preſerved

preſerved union among the Calviniſts, cauſed greater commotions, and expoſed the State to dangers more terrible than any which had been before experienced. He therefore cauſed the Admiral Coligni to be declared a rebel, by an arret of the Parliament of Paris, which was publiſhed and tranſlated into ſeveral languages. They dragged him in effigy upon an hurdle, and attached him to a gibbet in the place deſtined to the execution of malefactors: they ordained that his houſes ſhould be razed to the foundations, and his goods ſold at auction. From this time the King reſolved to purſue the Admiral to death, began to elevate and favor the houſe of Lorraine, and above all the Duke of Guiſe, who, burning with ardor to avenge the death of his father, did not diſſimulate the implacable hatred he bore to Coligni. The Admiral continues the war with vigor. The Duke of Anjou, whoſe army, had been reinforced, ſeeks a battle: the Admiral endeavors to avoid it. At length he prepares for it, forced by a mutiny of his own army who demand it: he endeavors nevertheleſs to retire: the Duke of Anjou purſues him, and joins him near Moncontour: the two armies come to action on the plains of Moncontour, and a bloody battle enſues; victory remains to the Duke of Anjou, with a great carnage of the Hugonors. The party is diſcouraged; but the Admiral, although dangeroufly wounded, raiſes their ſpirits, and perſuades them to continue the war. The Princes and the Admiral abandon the whole country, except Rochelle, Angoulême, and Saint Jean d'Angeli.

Their deſign was to join the Earl of Montgommeri—a reſource which fortune ſeemed to have reſerved

reſerved to re-eſtabliſh their forces and repair their loſſes. After that junction, they intended to remain in the mountains until the Princes of Germany and the Queen of England ſhould ſend them ſuccors. They founded, moreover, ſome hopes on the Marſhal of Damville, Governor of Languedoc, who for ſome time appeared inclined in their favor, and with whom they maintain a ſecret intelligence. While the Conſtable lived, Damville had held a diſtinguiſhed rank in the Catholic party, and had ſhewn himſelf a declared enemy of the Hugonots. His jealouſy againſt Francis of Montmorenci, his elder brother, who was connected in friendſhip with the Prince of Condé and the Colignis, his relations, had inſpired him with this hatred of the Calviniſts; which had been fomented by the eſteem which the Guiſes profeſſed for him, and the favors they procured him. Able and profound in diſſimulation, according to conjunctures, they had employed all poſſible artifices to retain him in their party; and by his intervention to attach to them indiſſolubly, the Conſtable, who diſcovered much predilection and partiality for Damville, whom he believed ſuperior in courage and abilities to his other children. The Queen-Mother made him the ſame demonſtrations. Obliged, during the minority of the King, to manage the grandees, ſhe employed the Marſhal Damville to preſerve her the attachment of the Conſtable; but after his death, all theſe motives and conſiderations ceaſed. The Queen, who had no longer occaſion for Damville, gave herſelf little trouble to reward his ſervices. The Guiſes, far from ſhowing him the ſame regard, employed the management and perſuaſions of the Cardinal of Lorraine,

Lorraine, who was now very highly in favor with Charles IXth. to depreſs and differve the Marſhal, as a ſprout of an houſe which had been long the object of hatred and jealouſy to that of Lorraine. Damville ſoon perceived this change: the death of his father put an end to his differences with his elder brother, who was not leſs exaſperated than himſelf at the refuſal of the office of Conſtable, poſſeſſed ſo long by their father, and which they had ſolicited more than once. He began to make advances to the friends and relations of his family, and ſought to renew an intercourſe with the Admiral, to whom he intimated ſecret, though uncertain hopes. This motive had hindered him from ſuccouring Terride in Bearn, and from taking from the Hugonots the places which they held in Gaſcony and Languedoc. He was the more inclined in favor of the Calviniſts, as he ſaw the Admiral already advanced in years, and every day expoſed to evident dangers. If this nobleman ſhould die before the Princes were of an age to command, Damville hoped to ſucceed him in the command of the Calviniſtic party:—finally, he dreaded, that if the King and the Guiſes ſhou'd overbear the Princes, the Admiral and all the Hugonots, they would then turn their efforts againſt the family of Montmorenci, which would remain alone of all the ancient rivals, who had inſpired him with jealouſy. Theſe diſpoſitions did not eſcape the penetration of the Admiral. Excited by ſuch hopes, he perſuaded the Princes to abandon the flat country, and retire with a ſmall number of troops into the mountains of Gaſcony and Languedoc. The Duke of Anjou beſieges and takes Saint Jean d'Angeli, and loſes much time and many

many ſoldiers: he falls ſick and retires firſt to Angers, and then to Saint Germain. The Princes join the Earl of Montgommeri, and reinforce their troops in Gaſcony. They paſs the winter in the mountains, and deſcend into the plains in the ſpring: they paſs the Rhone, and extend themſelves into Provence and Dauphiny. They march towards Noyers and la Charité, with the deſign to approach Paris. The King ſends againſt them an army under the command of the Marſhal de ſoſſé, a general of little activity, and who deſired not the ruin of the Hugonots. From a fear of confiding his armies to noblemen, whom their elevation, their power and their animoſities, or the great numbor of their partizans, had rendered ſuſpected by him, the King committed the conduct of it to a General, who, perſiſting in his ordinary inclination, gave the Hugonots a favorable opportunity to revive. This reſolution was alſo attributed to the policy of the Duke of Anjou, who dreaded that ſome other General might take away the fruit of his labors and victories. It is pretended that ſuch motives engaged him to inſpire the King with ſuſpicions againſt all the other Princes and Generals, and to prefer, to them, a man whom he conſidered as incapable of gaining any great advantages.

No.

No. 31.

...trum interim animos, certamen regni, ac cupido verſabat."

THE two armies met in Burgundy—but the ...nces, being inferior, evaded an engagement. The Queen-mother, in 1570, had too much ...etration not to unravel the manœuvres of the ...rſhals de Coſſé and Damville. She informed ... King of them, and perſuaded him to liſten ... propoſitions of accommodation. She perceiv- ...that the paſſions and the perfidy of theſe gran- ...s, might throw the ſtate into the greateſt ...gers, if the war was continued. She was ... more determined by the news which ſhe re- ...ved from Germany, where the Prince Caſimir ...gan to raiſe troops in favor of the Hugonots. ...e finances were exhauſted to ſuch a degree, ...t they knew not where to find funds to pay

deprived of the ſupport of their leaders. It was thus, that the court would have ſubſtituted *craft* inſtead of *force*, to execute a deſign, which the obſtinacy of the Hugonots, or the want of fidelity in thoſe who commanded armies, had always defeated when recourſe had been only to arms.

With ſuch dark and horrid views were overtures of peace made, and conditions concluded. The Princes and Admiral, ſtill diffident and diſtruſtful, retire to Rochelle. The King endeavors to gain their confidence. To this end, he propoſes to give his ſiſter Marguerite in marriage, to the Prince of Navarre, and to make war in Flanders upon the Spaniards. The marriage is reſolved on, and all the Chiefs of the Hugonots come to Court. The Queen of Navarre is poiſoned. After her death the marriage is celebrated, during the feaſts of which, Admiral Coligni is wounded by an aſſaſſin. The King takes the reſolution that, as in extreme caſes it is imprudence to do things by halves, the Hugonots ſhould be exterminated. The night between the 23d and the 24th of Auguſt, 1572, a Sunday called Saint Bartholomew's Day, the Admiral is maſſacreed, and almoſt all the other Calviniſts are cut in pieces in Paris, and in ſeveral other cities in the kingdom.

Such, in nations where there is not a fixed and known conſtitution, or where there is a conſtitution, without an effectual balance, are the tragical effects of emulation, jealouſies and rivalries—deſtruction to all the leaders—poverty, beggary and ruin to the followers. France, after a century of ſuch horrors, found no remedy againſt them but in abſolute monarchy: nor did any nation ever find any remedy againſt the miſeries of ſuch rivalries among the gentlemen; but in deſpotiſm, monarchy, or a balanced conſtitution. It is not neceſſary to ſay, that every deſpotiſm

and monarchy that ever has exiſted among men, aroſe out of ſuch emulations among the principal men; but it may be aſſerted with confidence, that this cauſe alone is ſufficient to account for the riſe, progreſs and eſtabliſhment of every deſpotiſm and monarchy in the four quarters of the globe.

It is not intended at this time to purſue any further this inſtructive though melancholy hiſtory, nor to make any compariſons, in detail, between the ſtate of France in 1791, and the condition it was in two or three centuries ago. But if there are now differences of opinion in religion, morals, government and philoſophy—if there are parties, and leaders of parties—if there are emulations—if there are rivalries and rivals—is there any better proviſion made by the conſtitution to balance them now than formerly?—If there is not, what is the reaſon? who is the cauſe? All the thunders of heaven, although a Paratonnere had never been invented, would not in a thouſand years have deſtroyed ſo many lives, nor occaſioned ſo much deſolation among mankind, as the majority of a legiſlature in one uncontroled aſſembly may produce in a ſingle Saint Bartholomew's Day.* Saint Bartholomew's Days are the natural, neceſſary and unavoidable effect and conſequence of diverſities in opinion, the ſpirit of party, unchecked paſſions, emulation and rivalry, where there is not a power always ready and inclined to throw weights into the lighteſt ſcale to preſerve or reſtore the equilibrium.

With a view of vindicating republics, commonwealths and free ſtates, from unmerited reproaches, we have detailed theſe anecdotes from the hiſtory of France. With equal propriety we might have reſorted to the hiſtory of England, which

* Upon Franklin's authority, the French adopted their government in one aſſembly.

which is full of conteſts and diſſentions of the ſame ſort. There is a morſel of that hiſtory, the life and actions of the protector Somerſet, ſo remarkably appoſite, that it would be worth while to relate it—for the preſent however it muſt be waved. It is too faſhionable with writers to impute ſuch contentions to republican governments, as if they were peculiar to them; whereas nothing is further from reality. Republican writers themſelves have been as often guilty of this miſtake, in whom it is an indiſcretion, as monarchical writers, in whom it may be thought policy; in both however it is an error. We ſhall mention only two, Machiavel and de Lolme. In Machiavel's hiſtory of Florence, lib. 3, we read, "It is given from above that in all republics, there ſhould be fatal families, who are born for the ruin of them; to the end that in human affairs nothing ſhould be perpetual or quiet."

If indeed this were acknowledged to be the will of heaven, as Machiavel ſeems to aſſert, why ſhould we entertain reſentments againſt ſuch families? They are but inſtruments, and they cannot but anſwer their end. If they are commiſſioned from above to be deſtroying angels, why ſhould we oppoſe or reſiſt them! As to "the end" there are other cauſes enough, which will forever prevent perpetuity or tranquility, in any great degree in human affairs. Animal life is a chemical proceſs; and is carried on by unceaſing motion. Our bodies and minds, like the heavens, the earth and the ſea, like all animal, vegetable and mineral nature; like the elements of earth, air, fire and water, are continually changing.—The mutability and mutations of matter, and much more of the intellectual and moral world, are the conſequence of laws of nature, not leſs without our power than beyond our comprehenſion. While we are thus aſſured that in one ſenſe nothing

thing in human affairs will be perpetual or at reſt; we ought to remember at the ſame time, that the duration of our lives, the ſecurity of our property, the exiſtence of our conveniences, comforts and pleaſures, the repoſe of private life, and the tranquility of ſociety, are placed in very great degrees, in human power. Equal laws may be ordained and executed, great families as well as little ones, may be reſtrained. And that policy is not leſs pernicious than that philoſophy is falſe, which repreſents ſuch families as ſent by heaven to be judgments: It is not true in fact. On the contrary they are ſent to be bleſſings—and they are bleſſings until by our own obſtinate ignorance and imprudence, in refuſing to eſtabliſh ſuch inſtitutions as will make them always bleſſings, we turn them into curſes. There are evils it is true which attend them as well as other human bleſſings, even government, liberty, virtue and religion. It is the province of philoſophy and policy to increaſe the good and leſſen the evil that attends them as much as poſſible. But it is not ſurely the way, either to increaſe the good or leſſen the evil which accompanies ſuch families, to repreſent them to the people as machines, as rods, as ſcourges, as blind and mechanical inſtruments in the hands of divine vengence, unmixed with benevolence. Nor has it any good tendency or effect, to endeavour to render them unpopular; to make them objects of hatred, malice, jealouſy, envy, or revenge to the common people. The way of wiſdom to happineſs is to make mankind more friendly to each other. The exiſtence of ſuch men or families is not their fault. They created not themſelves. We, the Plebeians, find them, the workmanſhip of God and nature like ourſelves. The conſtitution of nature and the courſe of providence has produced them as well as us;

and

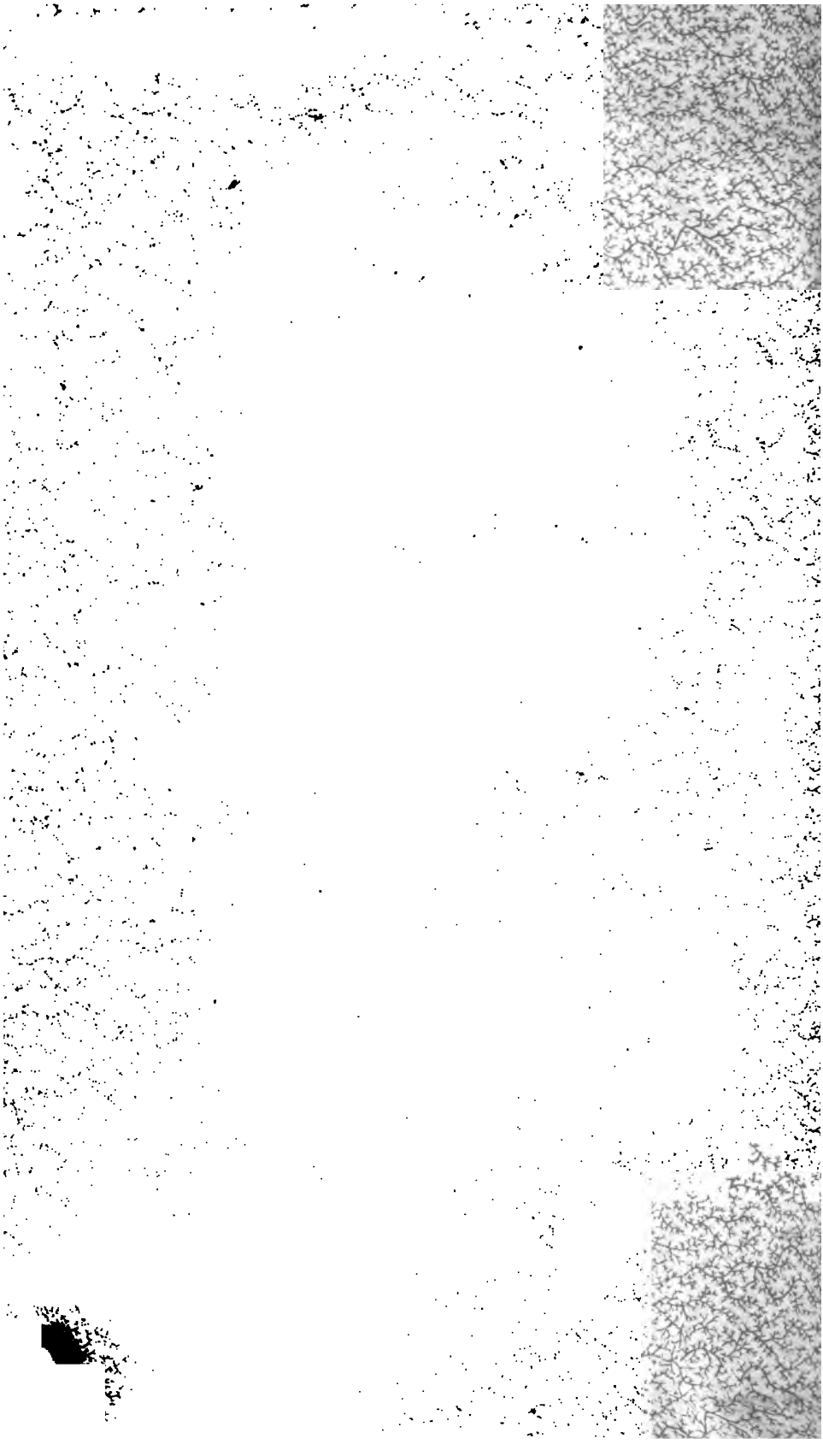
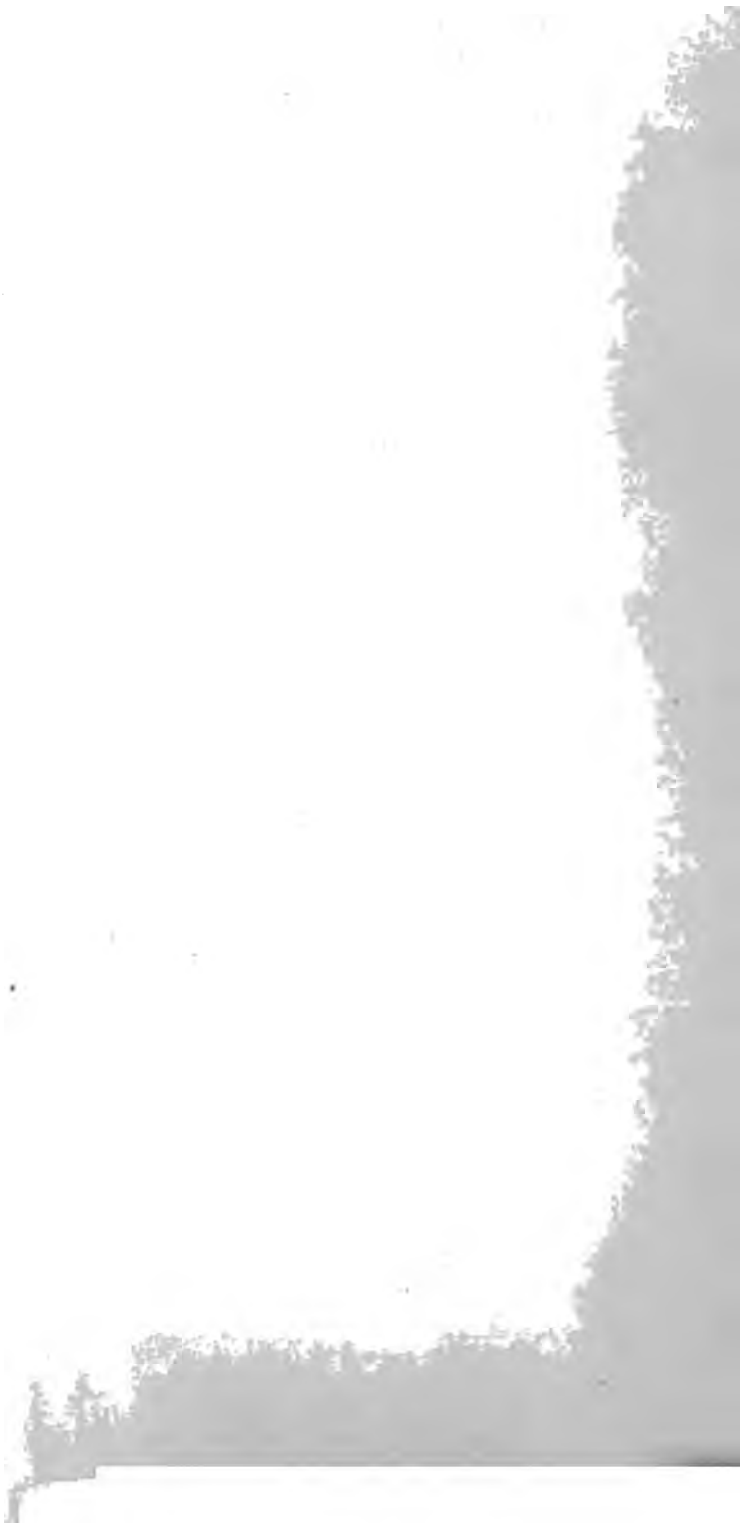
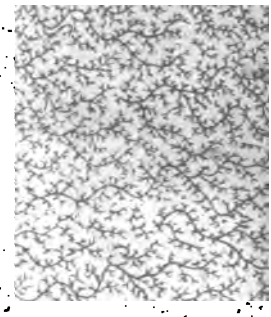
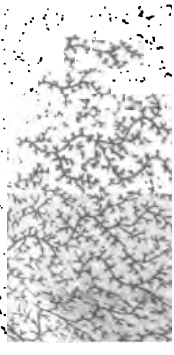
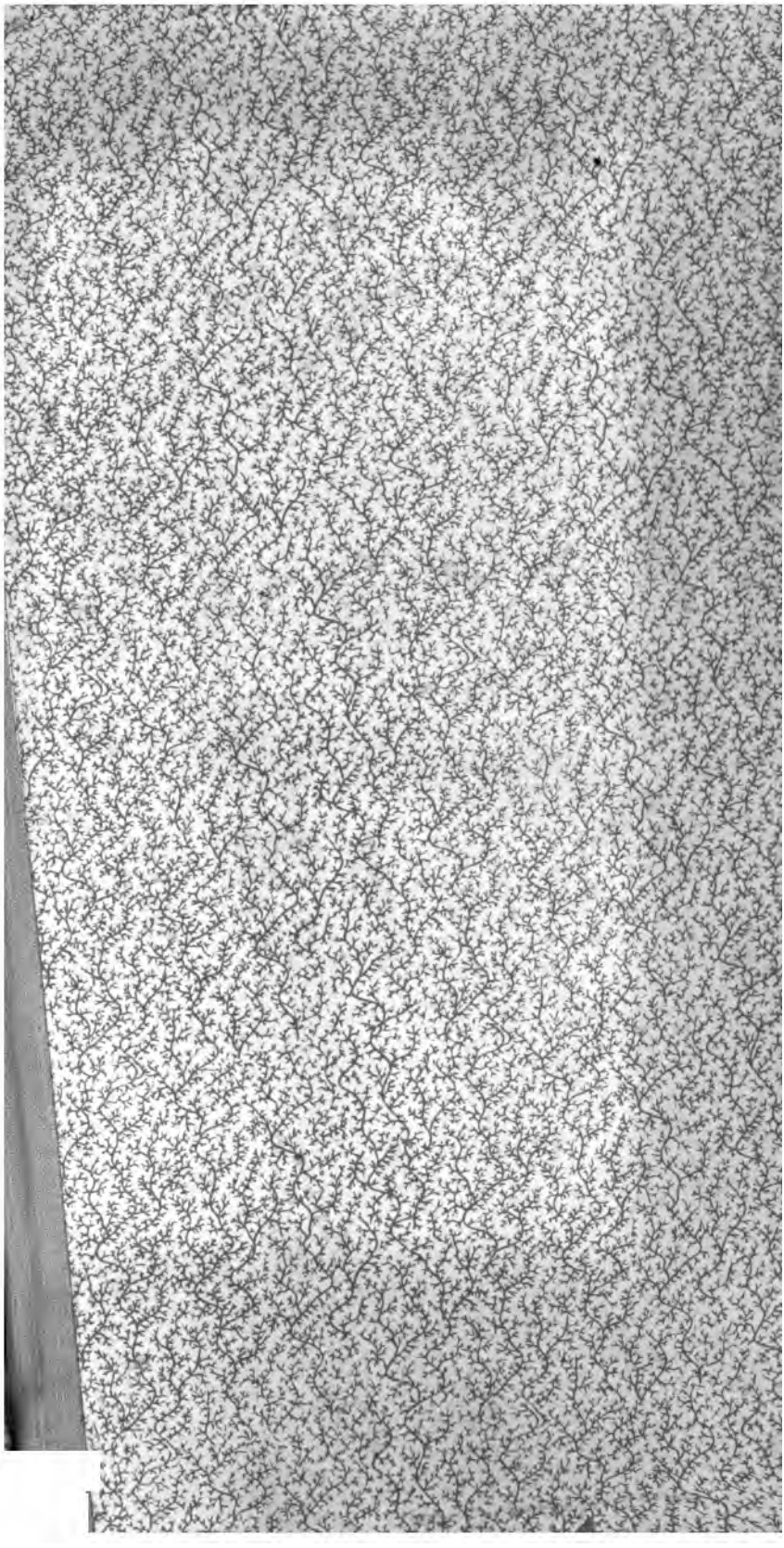
and they and we muſt live together; it depends on ourſelves indeed whether it ſhall be in peace, love and friendſhip, or in war or hatred. Nor are they reaſonably the objects of cenſure or averſion, of reſentment, envy or hatred, for the gifts of fortune, any more than for thoſe of nature. Conſpicuous birth is no more in a man's power to avoid, than to obtain. Hereditary riches are no more a reproach than they are a merit. A paternal eſtate is neither a virtue nor a fault. He muſt nevertheleſs be a novice in this world who does not know that theſe gift of fortune, are advantages in ſociety and life, which confer influence, popularity and power. The diſtinction that is made between the gifts of nature and thoſe of fortune appears to be not well founded. It is fortune which confers beauty and ſtrength, which are called qualities of nature as much as birth and hereditary wealth, which are called accidents of fortune: and on the other hand it is nature which confers theſe favours, as really as ſtature and agility.

Narrow and illiberal ſentiments are not pecular to the rich or the poor. If the vulgar have found a Machiavel to give countenances to their malignity, by his contracted and illiberal exclamations againſt illuſtrious families, as the curſe of heaven: the rich and the noble have not unfrequently produced ſordid inſtances of individuals among themſelves, who have adopted and propogated an opinion that God hates the poor, and that poverty, and miſery on earth are inflicted by Providence in its wrath and diſpleaſure. This noble philoſophy is ſurely as ſhallow and as execrable as the other Plebeian philoſophy of Machiavel; but it is countenanced by at leaſt as many of the phenomena of the world. Let both be diſcarded as the reproach of human underſtanding, and a diſgrace

diſgrace to human nature. Let the rich and the poor unite in the bands of mutual affection, be mutually ſenſible of each others ignorance, weakneſs and error, and unite in concerting meaſures for their mutual defence, againſt each other's views and follies, by ſupporting an impartial Mediator.

That ingenious Genevan, to whom the Engliſh nation is indebted for a more intelligible explanation of their own conſtitution than any that has been ever publiſhed by their own Acherly or Bacon, Bolingbroke or Blackſtone, has quoted this paſſage of Machiavel, and applied it, like him, to the diſhonour of republican governments. De Lolme, in his conſtitution of England, Book 2 c. 1. ſays—"I cannot avoid tranſcribing a part of "the ſpeech which a citizen of Florence addreſſed "once to the Senate: the reader will find in it "a kind of abridged ſtory of all republics." He then quotes the paſſage before cited from Machiavel.

Why ſhould ſo grave an accuſation be brought againſt republics? If it were well founded, it would be a very ſerious argument, not only againſt ſuch forms of government, but againſt human nature. Families and competitions, are the unavoidable conſequence of that emulation, which God and nature have implanted in the human heart, for the wiſeſt and beſt purpoſes, and which the public good, inſtead of cooling or extinguiſhing, requires to be directed to honor and virtue, and then nouriſhed, cheriſhed, and cultivated. If ſuch contentions appeared only in republican governments, there would be ſome color for charging them as a reproach to theſe forms; but they appear as frequent and as violent in deſpotiſms and monarchies, as they do in commonwealths. In all the deſpotiſms of Aſia and Africa, in all the monarchies of Europe, there are conſtant ſucceſſions of emulation

emulation and rivalry, and conſequently of conteſts and diſſentions among families. Deſpotiſm, which cruſhes and decapitates, ſometimes interrupts their progreſs, and prevents ſome of their tragical effects. Monarchies, with their ſpies, letters de catchet, dungeons and inquiſitions, may do almoſt as well. But the balance of a free government is more effectual than either, without any of their injuſtice, caprice or cruelty. The foregoing examples from the Hiſtory of France, and a thouſand others equally ſtriking which might be added, ſhow that Bourbons and Montmorencies, Guiſes and Colignis, were as fatal families in that kingdom as the Buondelmenti and Huberti, the Donati and Cerchi, the Rici and Abbizzi, or Medici at Florence.

Inſtead of throwing falſe imputations on republican governments; inſtead of exciting or fomenting a vulgar malignity againſt the moſt reſpectable men and families—let us draw the proper inferences from hiſtory and experience—let us lay it down for a certain fact, firſt, that emulation between individuals, and rivalries among families, never can be prevented: ſecond, let us adopt it as a certain principle that they ought not to be prevented, but directed to virtue, and then ſtimulated and encouraded by generous applauſe and honorable rewards. And from theſe premiſes let the concluſion be, as it ought to be, that an effectual controul be provided in the conſtitution, to check their exceſſes and balance their weights. If this concluſion is not drawn, another will follow of itſelf—the people will be the dupes, and the leaders will worry each other and the people too, till both are weary and aſhamed, and from feeling, not from reaſoning, ſet up a maſter and a deſpot for a Protector. What kind of a Protector he will be, may be learned hereafter from Stephen Boetius.